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ABSTRACT

This book presents four perspectives on student discipline: legal and historical, empirical, educational, and futuristic. Part I examines the legal history of student discipline in papers by J. John Harris III, Richard E. Fields, and A. Reynaldo Contreras (Chapter 1); Richard E. Fields (Chapter 2); and David G. Carter, Sr. and Cynthia L. Jackson (Chapter 3). The authors hold that corporal punishment and suspension, although approved by the courts, solve problems for teachers and administrators at the expense of those who look to schools for social and economic advancement. Part II presents empirical perspectives on discipline. Chapters 4-6 (by Christine Bennett, J. John Harris, III, and Camilla A. Heid) report results of a study of the causes of disproportionality in suspensions and expulsions of male and black students. Chapter 7 (by Heid and Contreras) presents a quantitative and qualitative analysis of minority student suspension. In Chapter 8, Meryl E. Englander discusses teacher management of classroom misbehavior. Perspectives on educational policy with regard to student discipline are investigated in Part III. First, in Chapter 9 Stephen Bower argues that educational policy that equates disproportionality with social discrimination tends to blur the distinction between race and class. Then Chapter 10, by Patrick Lynch, examines the effect of educational policy on the lives and personalities of students. The last section of the book, Part IV, introduces perspectives on discipline for the future. The role of researchers is considered by Frank Brown in Chapter 11. Finally, in Chapter 12, William W. Wayson reviews the eight goals identified by Phi Delta Kappa's Commission on Discipline. Brief notes on the book's contributors follow the text. (Author/GC)

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Student Discipline:

Legal, Empirical, and Educational Perspectives

J. John Harris III
with
Christine Bennett

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Prologue *J. John Harris III* v

Acknowledgments vii

List of Tables viii

List of Figures xii

PART I — LEGAL PERSPECTIVES

Chapter 1 **A Legal-Historical Examination of Student Discipline** 1
J. John Harris III
Richard E. Fields
A. Reynaldo Contreras

Chapter 2 **Student Disciplinary Suspensions: Reflections On Case Law With An Eye Towards Administrative Policy** 17
Richard E. Fields

Chapter 3 **Student Discrimination, Disproportionality and the Law** 37
David G. Carter, Sr.
Cynthia L. Jackson

PART II — EMPIRICAL PERSPECTIVES

Chapter 4 **A Study of the Causes of Disproportionality in Suspensions and Expulsions of Male and Black Students (Part I)** 49
Christine Bennett
J. John Harris III

Chapter 5 **A Study of the Causes of Disproportionality in Suspensions and Expulsions of Male and Black Students (Part II)** 75
Christine Bennett

Chapter 6 **A Study of the Causes of Disproportionality in Suspensions and Expulsions of Male and Black Students (Part III)** 105
Camilla A. Heid

Chapter 7 **Minority Student Suspension: A Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis** 131
Camilla A. Heid
A. Reynaldo Contreras

Chapter 8 **Teacher Management of Classroom Misbehavior** 143
Meryl E. Englander

PART III — EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

Chapter 9 **Disproportionate Impact and Social Inequality** 163
Stephen Bower

Chapter 10 **The Effect of Educational Policy on Children** 183
Patrick Lynch

PART IV — FUTURISTIC PERSPECTIVES

Chapter 11 **Student Discipline: Futuristic Role of the Researcher** 195
Frank Brown

Chapter 12 **Promising Practices in School Discipline** 205
William W. Wayson

Epilogue *J. John Harris III* 213

Contributors' Biographies 214

Index 217

PROLOGUE

Conflict is inevitable. It is experienced by everyone several times daily. Conflict exists in the family, school, community, country and the world. A true conflict exists whenever a powerful group dominates a less powerful group. In school conflict exists as teachers battle for the attention of students.

> We decided to call this battle for students' attention 'the discipline problem' because it reflects essential difficulties in several types of discipline. Self-discipline involves the personal control of one's own attention. Acquiring a subject matter discipline requires attention to a field of inquiry. 'Disciples' are those who pay attention to their teachers. Military disciples involves subordinates who do what they are told. When these types of discipline break down into a battle for attention, students are sent out of class for 'disciplinary' purposes. As a quality of consciousness, a powerful tool for action, and a characteristic of cooperative life in organizations, discipline is both a means for learning and a goal of education. (Alschuler, 1980).

If the battle for the attention of students can be alleviated, then significant improvements will be made in other school problems. With the attention and interest of the students suspension, teacher stress, vandalism and a multitude of problems can be reduced. Lacking a perfect solution, educators continue to strive for a working alternative to balance the power between teachers and students.

This book presents four perspectives on student discipline: legal and historical, empirical, educational and futuristic. Part I examines the legal history of student discipline. Both corporal punishment and suspension as disciplinary techniques have been reviewed and approved with limitations by the Courts. However, the authors indicate that these techniques solve problems for teachers and administrators at the expense of those who look to the school for social and economic advancement. New structures must be developed in the schools that encourage student self-discipline through cooperation within the power struggle.

Part II presents empirical perspectives on student discipline. The first study on the disproportionate suspension and expulsion of male and black students was conducted in two urban school corporations located in the Midwest under a grant from the United States Department of Education. Several factors were identified and analyzed in detail. Characteristics of disruptive and nondisruptive students, characteristics of high and low disproportionality schools and teacher and administrator attitudes were the analyzed factors. The second study's foci is twofold and designed to give juxtaposition between Parts II and IV. Two independent studies were conducted and carefully integrated into one chapter, which ascertained (a) teacher reactions to misbehaviors and (b) reactions of teachers as they function in their classrooms.

Perspectives on educational policy with regard to student discipline are investigated in Part III. The first article studies the difference between race and class issues. The author argues that educational policy that equates disproportionality with social discrimination has a tendency to blur the distinction between race and class. In the second article, the author states that

educational policy has only superficially changed structural arrangements in education. At present, educators do not understand how educational policy affects the lives and personalities of students.

The last section, Part IV, introduces perspectives on student discipline for the future. Due to the fact that many discipline problems at school originate in the home or community, it is recommended that future researchers utilize community people to help formulate questions for school-community related studies. Recommendations are included on who should collect the data as well as what should be the purpose of future research. Finally, the eight goals identified by Phi Delta Kappa's Commission on Discipline are described along with implementation activities. The attainment of these goals is necessary for any school that wants to improve student discipline.

This book was written to serve well the entire leadership and teaching staff of any school or university interested in improving student discipline. Because of the emphasis on improving student discipline through alternative methods, this book will serve a dual purpose; that is, instruction as well as reference for trainees, practitioners and researchers.

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List of Tables

Table		Page
2B.1	Background Information	32
2B.2	Previous to Public Law 162	32
2B.3	Previous to Goss and After Public Law 162	33
2B.4	General	34
3.1	OCR Forms OS/CR-102's	40
3.2	The Top Fifty Districts with an Over Representation of Minorities Suspended or Expelled Aggregated by Region (1976)	41
4.1a	Race Disproportionality of "Serious Disrupter" in Site A by School GINI Index of Dissimilarity	53
4.1b	Race Disporportionality of "Serious Disrupter" in Site B by School GINI Index of Dissimilarity	53
4.2a	Sex Disproportionality of "Serious Disrupter" in Site A by School GINI Index of Dissimilarity	54
4.2b	Sex Disproportionality of "Serious Disrupter" in Site B by School GINI Index of Dissimilarity	54
4.3a	Fatalism Index Broken Down by Never or Once Suspended	64
4.3b	Analysis of Variance Fatalism Index by Never or Once Suspended	64
4.4a	Scores on Fatalism Index by Disruptive and Non-Disruptive Student	65
4.5a	Dislike School Index Broken Down by Never or Once Suspended	66
4.5b	Analysis of Variance Dislike School Index by Never and Once Suspended	66
4.6a	Scores on Dislike School Index by Disrupter and Non-Disrupter	67
4.6b	Mean Scores on Dislike School Index by Disrupter and Non-Disrupter in Site B	67
4.7a	Unfair Punishment Index Broken Down by Never and Once Suspended	67
4.7b	Unfair Punishment Index By Never and Once Suspended	68
4.8a	Scores on Unfair Punishment Index by Serious Disrupter and Non-Disrupter	68
4.9a	Institutional Power Index Broken Down By Never and Once Suspended	69
4.10a	Scores on the Institutional Power Index by Disrupter and Non-Disrupter	69
4.10b	Mean Scores on the Institutional Power Index by Disrupter and Non-Disrupter in Site B.	69
4.11a	Grassroots Power Broken Down By Never and Once Suspended	70

4.12a	Scores on Grassroots Power by Disrupter and Non-Disrupter	70
4.12b	Mean Scores on Grassroots Power by Disrupter and Non-Disrupter in Site B	71
4.13a	Positive School Climate Index Broken Down by Never and Once Suspended	71
4.13b	Positive School Climate By Never and Once Suspended	71
4.14b	Scores on Positive School Climate Index by Disrupter and Non-Disrupter in Site B	72
4.15a	Scores on Interracial Friendship Index by Never and Once Suspended	72
4.15b	Scores on Interracial Friendship Index by Never and Once Suspended	73
4.16b	Mean Scores on White Predominance Index by Disrupter and Non-Disrupter in Site B	73
5.3b	Race Disproportionality in Student Withdrawals GINI Index and Total B & W Withdrawals by Race and Sex for 1979-80 School Year, Site B	76
5.4b	Sex Disproportionality in Student Withdrawals GINI Index and Total Enrollments and Number of Withdrawals by Sex for 1979-80 School Year Site B	76
5.1a	Race Disproportionality of "Serious Disrupter" in Site A by School GINI Index of Dissimilarity	87
5.1b	Race Disproprotionality of "Serious Disrupter" in Site B by School GINI Index of Dissimilarity	88
5.2a	Race Disproportionality of "Serious Disrupter" in Site A by School GINI Index of Dissimilarity	88
5.3a	Withdrawal Data of Site A School Corporation High Schools for the 1978-79 School Year	89
5.2b	Sex Disproportionality of "Serious Disrupters" in Site B by School GINI Index of Dissimilarity	90
5.5	Student Modes of Transportation to School by School	90
5.6b	Analysis of Variance: Fatalism by Index by School	90
5.7a	Analysis of Variance: Dislike School Index Broken by School in Site A	91
5.8a	Analysis of Variance: Unfair Punishment Index Broken Down By School in Site A	91
5.8b	Analysis of Variance: Unfair Punishment by School	92
5.9a	Analysis of Variance: Institutional Power Index Broken Down by School in Site A	92
5.10a	Analysis of Variance: Grassroots Power Index Broken Down by School in Site A	93
5.10b	Analysis of Variance: Grassroots Power Index by School	93
5.11a	Analysis of Variance: Positive School Climate Index Broken Down By School in Site A	94
5.11b	Analysis of Variance: Positive School Climate Index by School	94
5.12a	Scores on Interracial Environment Index by Race and Sex	95

5.12b	Scores on Interracial Environment Index by Race and Sex	95
5.13a	Interracial School Environment Index Broken Down by Race/Sex Group and School	96
5.13b	Interracial School Environment Index Broken Down by Race/Sex Group and School	97
5.14a	Scores on Interracial Friendship Index by Race and Sex	97
5.14b	Scores on Interracial Friendship Index by Race and Sex	98
5.15a	Index of Interracial Friendship Index by Race/Sex Group and School	99
5.15b	Index of Interracial Friendship by Race/Sex Group and School	100
5.15c	Scores of Interracial Friendship Index by School	100
5.16b	Mean Scores on Administrative Desegregation Support Index by School	101
5.17a	ANOVA Table The White Predominance Index by Race/ Sex Group	101
5.18a	The White Predominance Index Broken Down By Race/ Sex Group and School	102
5.18b	The White Predominance Index by Race/Sex Group and School	103
6.1	Total Enrollments and Population of "Serious Disrupters" By Race for 1979-80 School Year	112
6.2	Total Enrollments and Population of "Serious Disrupters" by Sex for 1979-80 School Year	114
6.3	Mean Scores for Teachers on the Institutional Power Index by Schools in Site B	116
6.4	Mean Scores for Teachers on the Grassroots Power Index by Schools in Site B	116
6.5	Mean Scores for Teachers on the Institutional Power Index by Schools in Site A	117
6.6	Mean Scores for Teachers on the Grassroots Power Index by Schools in Site A	117
6.7	Mean Scores for Teachers on the Positive School Climate Index by Schools in Site B	118
6.8	Mean Scores for Teachers on the Positive School Climate Index by Schools in Site A	118
6.9	Administrators' Perceptions of School Climate (Site A)	119
6.10	Administrators' Perceptions of School Climate (Site B)	120
6.11	Teachers' Perceptions of School Climate (Site A)	121
6.12	Teachers' Perceptions of School Climate (Site B)	122
6.13	Administrators' Perceptions of School Adequacy (Site A)	123
6.14	Administrators' Perceptions of School Adequacy (Site B)	124
6.15	Administrators' Perceptions of Interaction (Site A)	125
6.16	Administrators' Perceptions of Interaction (Site B)	125
6.17	Teachers' Perceptions of Interaction (Site A)	126
6.18	Teachers' Perceptions of Interaction (Site B)	126

6.19	Summary of Teacher Perceptions About Race and Sex Differences on Selected Student Characteristics (Site A)	127
6.20	Summary of Teacher Perceptions About Race and Sex Differences on Selected Student Characteristics (Site B)	128
6.21	Summary of Teacher Opinion Regarding Mandatory Desegregation of Schools	128
6.22	Summary of Teacher Responses to Selected Statements About School Desegregation and Race Relations	129
7.1	Special Student Concerns Projects	139
7.2	Correlation Coefficients	140
8.1	Student Misbehaviors	145
8.2	Teacher Response Options	146
8.3	Elementary School Teachers Responses to Selected Student Misbehaviors	148
8.4	Summary of Middle School Teacher Responses to Selected Student Misbehaviors	150
8.5	Summary of High School Teacher Responses to Selected Student Misbehaviors	152
8.6	Differential Treatment of Well Behaved and Problem Students	155

List of Figures

Figure		Page
2A.1	A Suggested Model for Procedural Due Process	31
6.1	Frequency Distribution of Schools By Percent of White Disrupters	113
6.2	Frequency Distribution of Schools By Percent of Black Disrupters	113
6.3	Frequency Distribution of Schools By Percent of Female Disrupters	115
6.4	Frequency Distribution of Schools By Percent of Male Disrupters	115
7.1	A Histogram Representing the Distribution of the GINI Index for the 139 Schools	140
7.2	The Graph of the Relationship Between the Percent of the Black Population and the Percent of the White Population	141
7.3	The Graph of the Relationship Between the Percent of the Black Suspensions and the Percent of White Suspensions	141
7.4	The Graph of the Relationship Between the Percent of the Black Population and the Percent of Black Suspensions	142
7.5	The Graph of the Relationship Between the Percent of White Suspensions and the Percent of the White Population	142

Part I
Legal Perspectives

A LEGAL - HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF STUDENT DISCIPLINE: ALTERNATIVE TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY

J. John Harris III
Richard E. Fields
A. Reynaldo Contreras

Introduction

As one of the most volatile and perennial problems facing the schools and society, student discipline has so exercised our consciousness, that intervention has occurred by not only school administrators and staff, but also, by the courts and other governmental bodies. Discipline in the public schools has been the instrumentality for modifying errant behavior exhibited by students. This has been illustrated by various works.[1] However, the schools of America have come under increasing pressure to abandon their "outmoded" methods of discipline in favor of more "humane methods" of resolving student problems.[2]

Nationally, attention has been focused on the issue of student discipline through the publicity given several reports issued by civil rights and child advocacy groups. The groups reported findings that disproportionate numbers of male and minority group students were being suspended and expelled from schools in a discriminatory manner. These findings brought into the limelight a series of charges and countercharges as well as a list of unanswered questions.[3]

More recently, attention is being directed towards the inability of students to cope with problems associated with the schools. The notion is implied that school disorders exist primarily because students have developed a dislike for authority and lack of respect for administrators and teachers. A contrasting point of view suggests that students are not totally responsible for the disruption and chaos that is evident in some public schools. The differing perceptions of discipline problems by administrators, teachers and students along with the evidence of disproportionality in suspension and expulsion rates, warrants further inquiry into factors other than student behavior as contributors to school disruptions and high rates of suspension and expulsion of students.

The suspension, like corporal punishment, in the schools has traditionally been used as a form of chastisement intended to affect behavior modification, while causing only a temporary interruption in the student's overall school experience. Often, however, the arbitrary imposition of a suspension or paddling results in only a "hardening experience" for the child to the extent that the road to expulsion and the ultimate denial of educational opportunity begins to be laid brick by faithful brick.

The history of discipline in the schools has all too often been an attempt by busy administrators to treat a disruptive student as a surface blemish to be

removed from the student body. What is worse to realize is the fact that the student body has been conditioned by tradition to accept its imposed paddlings and/or suspensions to the extent that alternatives to the entire wasteful process are only now beginning to be explored. The problem is that certain students tend to be disciplined for offenses that are not of a violent nature, but offenses of a covert nature against the school. In essence, ". . . they have assertedly engaged in institutionally inappropriate behavior, disregarding the "hidden curriculum" or values underlying institutional public schooling . . ."[4] Since this phenomenon is having such a tremendous effect on the entire educational arena, there is a need to critically examine those areas which have the most significance.

The purpose of this paper is to provide the reader with an in-depth analysis of historical and legal trends of student discipline, within the context of public education in these United States. Additionally, the discipline system as it now exists, will be examined and inferences drawn, with respect to alternative trends in educational policy.

From Hickory Stick to Dewey

Historically, the chosen method of discipline in the United States has been corporal punishment. The practice traces its roots back to the days of the ancient Hebrews and Egyptians who both promoted and condoned its use. The religious nature of colonial education lent itself well to this practice of the disciplining of the flesh due to the prevailing assumption that people were, by nature, corruptible and in need of being reformed. Children of the day were not allowed their days of innocence, but were expected from early age to reason and perform as little adults. As "adults" they were also responsible for their own learning. Teachers of the period were essentially facilitators: their duties were confined to the hearing and assignment of lessons, the manufacture of pens, the setting of copies, and the maintenance of order.[5] Indeed, the School Rules of 1645 of Dorchester, Massachusetts, stated that the schoolmaster was not to be hindered in the exercise of his authority as his "rod of correction" was an "ordinance of God."[6]

The early nineteenth century continued the practices of colonial America. Humiliation and harshness in the forms of fines and verbal corrections began to gradually replace the whipping posts of colonial times. However certain archaic forms still survived in the use of sewing thimbles to rap children on the head, wooden bits to insert into the child's mouth and affixed to his/her head, the split ends of branches fastened to the nose, baskets suspended from ceilings in which to leave children overnight, and the old reliable dunce cap.[7] Underlying the entire process was the belief that corporal punishment would develop in students the qualities of good moral character and academic excellence through the disciplining of the mind. This philosophy would prevail until the emergence of a more enlightened viewpoint from Europe at mid-century.

The theorists Johann Pestalozzi and Friedrich Froebel did much to destroy the old concept of the corruptibility of children by forcing educators to look upon the child as a good child, given the fact that the learning environment needed to be secure and that children needed to be active in the learning process. John Dewey continued to expand upon this concept by advancing

the theory that a child learns to choose his actions through practice. In other words, discipline is developmental. It is unfortunate that the followers of Dewey, like Kilpatrick, believed that this meant that children were ready for self-discipline if only left to themselves to follow their own interests.[8] Denied a framework upon which children may build their experiences, they are doomed to act at random; and the entire progressive movement has suffered due to this misunderstanding of Dewey's theory ever since. Dewey had intended all along that discipline be viewed as an educational problem, not an administrative problem.[9] The schools have never fully understood that the aim of discipline is to make people self-controlling and self-responsible: not to impose its will from without, but within.

Today's educators face a continuing struggle between the coercive structures which have been traditional in American life and which emphasize an external locus of control and self-disciplining structures which emphasize an internal locus of control.[10] The main question here is power. Students who have no power to affect their own decisions can never experience self-discipline. Yet, to surrender power completely, without leaving a structure upon which to build, is only inviting chaos. What is needed are new structures for schools that encourage student self-discipline through cooperation.[11]

Traditionally, schools have been unwilling to surrender their coercive structures and have turned to one of the following five methods or options to handle school discipline problems: (1) more rules and harsher punishments, (2) more teacher training, (3) easier suspension, (4) increased campus security, and (5) juvenile justice revisions.[12] Options four and five assume that outside controls and help may assist the school in solving its problems. This may not work as well as it first appears as doubts exist as to whether the courts will have any more luck than the schools in either rehabilitating children by sending them to trial as adults or by making their parents legally accountable for their children's conduct. Option two also assumes that teachers can be made responsible for students' conduct and problems and that teachers agree on how to handle discipline problems.[13] This leaves only options one and three in the coercive power structure as viable options which the school can effect. Each presents its own special problems in that the desired end-result often contradicts the intended purpose of education itself.

The Paddle and the Courts

Despite arguments to the contrary, corporal punishment is returning to the classroom due to the almost universal breakdown of discipline in the schools. On a national basis, 60,000 teachers and three million students are assaulted during a normal school year (and this is only at the secondary level).[14] One survey reports that over half of the teachers reporting stated that they had been verbally insulted or insulted by obscene gestures, and one out of eight reported being afraid to confront students.[15] So bad had the situation gotten in Los Angeles that corporal punishment was reinstated in March, 1980, after an absence of four years. Los Angeles school board member Richard Ferraro commented that the return of corporal punishment would be "a powerful deterrent to antisocial behavior."[16] Another member, Bobbi Fiedler, stated that a statewide survey of 800 parent-teacher associations had

been held, and that 85 percent of the respondents, both parents and teachers, stated that they favored corporal punishment.[17]

Detractors of the practice are just as vocal. Most of the anti-paddling argument centers on its ineffectiveness at achieving its intended outcome, behavior modification. School psychologist Wayne Foley and counselor John Wilson of Seattle, Washington, found in their studies that the deviant behavior in children is only supressed temporarily. Unfortunately, the punishment neither anticipates nor prevents future outbursts.[18] The National Education Association, after its studies in 1972 and 1973, came out in favor of abolishing corporal punishment in the schools. The NEA stated 17 reasons why it thinks that the hickory stick should be abandoned. Among these were: (1) physical punishment is ineffective; (2) the physical punishment increases disruptive behavior; (3) it hinders learning; (4) it teaches only that "might makes right"; (5) it develops aggressive hostility in students and teachers (6) it is often used on students weaker and smaller than the teacher; (7) its availability discourages teachers from seeking more effective means of discipline; (8) its use makes students appear less than human; and (9) the schools tend to be regarded as dehumanizing.[19] The 1972 NEA study found physical punishment so ineffective that it usually had to be administered repeatedly.[20]

The divergent opinions have led to almost 100 years of conflicting state laws and lower court decisions which finally culminated in the historic U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Baker v. Owen*.[21] *Baker* originally came into existence as a lawsuit brought by the mother of one Russell Carl Baker against the school system in protest over the administration of corporal punishment against her wishes. Mrs. Baker contended that the use of corporal punishment was cruel and unusual punishment and forbidden under the Eighth Amendment guarantees. A question of whether substantive due process was followed prior to the administration of punishment was made and the actual constitutionality of the state statute authorizing the use of reasonable force by teachers in disciplining students was questioned.[22] The case was heard on January 13, 1975. On April 23, 1975, a decision was reached in the United States District Court M. D. North Carolina, Greensboro Division.

The court determined that even though the 14th Amendment generally leaves control of discipline over children to the parents, the right is not fundamental and the state has a legitimate interest in maintaining discipline in the public schools.[23] The court said that teachers and school administrators do have the right to administer corporal punishment, but only after according minimal due process in the course of such punishment. It was felt that the child has a liberty or property interest in freedom from the arbitrary imposition of corporal punishment and that some procedural safeguards must be present.[24] Such safeguards should be attempts to: (1) inform the student that his misbehavior could occasion the use of corporal punishment; (2) first modify behavior by means other than corporal punishment; (3) punish corporally in the presence of another school official informed of the reasons for the punishment; and (4) provide in writing, upon request, the reasons for punishment to the parents, along with the name of the second school official who witnessed the punishment.[25] Finally, the use of corporal punishment in this case was held not to be cruel and unusual; although it was realized that the issue was still unsettled as far as the Eighth Amendment was concerned.[26] The decision of the three-judge court was appealed directly to the United

States Supreme Court. On October 20, 1975, the judgment of the lower court was affirmed without comment.[27]

An interesting commentary involving parental permission occurred recently in San Diego where a court has approved a $20,000 out-of-court settlement in a case involving the paddling of a retarded female student by a principal.[28] The principal had gone through the process of calling the mother and receiving permission to paddle the child, thinking that he was safe in administering the punishment using a fraternity paddle. Apparently, the permission had "expired" and the mother claimed that she thought that the corporal punishment would be a "token swat" with a ruler. The so-called "theory of informed consent" had failed to prevent a charge of assault and battery from being levied at the principal.

The fact that the U.S. Supreme Court had affirmed *Baker* without comment caused much division in the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit as it attempted to rule in the case of *Ingraham v. Wright*.[29] In this case a group of students from the Dade County school system, among them Ingraham and Andrews, brought suit against principal Wright, his assistant principals, the school board, superintendent, etc. The suit claimed that the use of corporal punishment deprived the students of substantive due process, was in violation of the Eighth Amendment guarantees, and involved the students in a grievous loss under which the due process standard of the 14th Amendment should be applied. Compensatory and punitive damages and declaratory and injunctive relief against the school system were sought in the action.

When the U.S. District Court dismissed the action, the parents appealed. The Court of Appeals reversed the District Court's decision and remanded the case. In its holding, the Court of Appeals expanded the *Baker* decision that corporal punishment in the schools was not cruel and unusual punishment by stating that the Eighth Amendment proscriptions are only intended to be invoked in matters involving criminal conduct.[30] The court further held that the plaintiff's claim of being deprived of substantive due process as a protection against arbitrary government action was without merit. The court felt that guidelines had been published by the school system and that the court would not make decisions as to the reasoning of the teacher or administrator which led to the degree of punishment inflicted. The majority of the court felt that the Supreme Court's decision in *Baker* to affirm without comment addressed itself only to the question of parental objection to corporal punishment. As the procedural safeguards part of the decision was not involved in the appeal, it was, therefore, not decided upon and not considered as "law of the land" and binding.[31]

The Court of Appeals in *Ingraham* was well aware that the procedural safeguards issue had arisen before in *Goss v. Lopez*,[32] but felt that the *Ingraham* case involved no grievous loss of educational benefits or property interests—only a routine disciplinary measure which did not affect the students' liberty interests in maintaining their good names and reputations.[33] Indeed, the court felt that the value of corporal punishment would be diluted if elaborate procedural processes had to be followed in every case.[34]

Ingraham was appealed directly to the U.S. Supreme Court.[35] The case was argued on November 2-3, 1976, and decided on April 19, 1977. The five-four decision of the Court was to affirm the holding of the Fifth Circuit

Court of Appeals. The Supreme Court further elaborated upon the applicability of the Eighth Amendment to only criminal proceedings. In tracing the history of the Amendment, the majority felt that its derivation from the English Bill of Rights of 1689 was evidence enough that the original framers of the U.S. Constitution had intended all along that the Amendment apply only to injustices committed against those already convicted of a crime. Since before the American Revolution, it had been the accepted practice at common law that a teacher had the right to inflict "moderate correction" on a child in his care, but only to the extent that it is "necessary to answer the purposes for which (the teacher) is employed."[36] The very openness of the public schools and their supervision by the community was seen to afford students ample protection from abuse by school officials. If the parents believe that the punishment was unjustified or was inflicted with malice, they still have legal redress through the courts by suing the teacher for recovery of damages and/or for assault and battery.

Most interestingly, the Court held that as long as a state has acted to preserve what "has always been the law of the land,"[37] the Due Process Clause of the 14th Amendment does not require notice and a hearing prior to the imposition of corporal punishment. Principals and teachers are admonished, however, that they must exercise prudence and restraint when deciding the necessity of corporal punishment. The imposition of additional administrative safeguards would be an unnecessary intrusion upon the arena of school responsibility. In fact, it was recognized by the Court that some school officials might be forced to abandon corporal punishment as a disciplinary measure rather than be forced to comply with costly procedural requirements which necessitate a diversion of attention from normal school pursuits. The Justices concluded that the benefits realized by imposing a constitutional requirement to impose prior notice and hearing would not justify the cost of that imposition.

Ingraham has been regarded for some time now as the final word on corporal punishment. However, like many last words, it did not prove to be the last after all. Recently, in a Fourth Circuit Court decision in the case of *Hall v. Tawney*,[38] the issue of granting substantive due process in cases of corporal punishment arose (an issue which *Ingraham* had not settled).

On December 6, 1974, Naomi Hall alleged that she was struck repeatedly on the hip and thigh by a teacher using a five-inch-wide rubber paddle. The paddling supposedly resulted in the girl's confinement to a hospital for a period of ten days and her subsequent treatment by specialists for possible permanent injuries to her lower back. As in *Ingraham*, with which it shares many similarities, the principal, teacher, and school board were all named as defendants.

Hall's attorneys argued that as the parents had instructed the school that they did not want their daughter paddled, the school had violated the parents' right to decide upon the means of discipline to be used in punishing their child. Secondly, the attorneys stated that the paddling violated Hall's substantive due process rights. The U.S. District judge for the Southern District of West Virginia dismissed the suit before it came to trial on the basis of the *Ingraham* decision. The case went on appeal to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals which reversed the lower court's ruling on May 9, 1980. While the Fourth Circuit agreed that the parents have no constitutional right to forbid

corporal punishment, the court based its reversal of the lower court's decision on the substantive due process issue by stating that *Ingraham* did not expressly forbid the courts from examining whether school officials might have violated a student's substantive due process rights through the administering of corporal punishment. The court then proceeded to define substantive due process as "the right to be free of state intrusion into realms of personal privacy and bodily security through means so brutal, demeaning, and harmful as to shock the conscience of the court."

The impact of the ruling is crucial. School board members, teachers, and administrators alike are hearby put on notice that even though they cannot be sued for violation of a student's procedural due process rights, or for violation of the Eighth Amendment provisions, they are still liable for attorney's fees and monetary damages if the court can be convinced that the corporal punishment employed would "shock the conscience of the court."[39]

The Suspension Alternative to Paddling?

With the brutality involved in both the *Hall* and *Ingraham* cases, the suspension of a student from school might appear on the surface to be the more viable alternative to maintaining discipline in the schools. But is it accomplishing its end? Certainly in terms of usage, it is a success. The Children's Defense Fund reports that, using the data available from the Office for Civil Rights' 1972-73 survey of 2,862 schools with a combined population of 24 million students, over one million students were suspended in the course of the year.[40] This means that overall one out of 24 students faced suspension at least once; and at the secondary level, the figure increased to one out of 13.[41] However, due to reporting differences, non-reporting, etc., the figures may not be inflated to their proper levels.

Suspension from school serves several apparent purposes, according to its advocates:[42] (1) it forces students to comply with those established behavioral rules which are necessary to "maintain an atmosphere conducive to learning and teaching"; (2) it helps students to learn acceptable modes of conduct in a free society; (3) it provides a "cooling off" period for both student and school staff who have been unable to deal with the behavior problem through other means; and (4) it serves to "provoke a crisis" which forces parents to get in contact with the school. The suspension is popular as a tool of administrators due to the fact that it takes less time than other alternatives, and the fact that school officials feel that it is effective.

Is the use of the suspension justified in light of recent increases in violence and vandalism in the schools? Are suspensions being used to stem this tide? The evidence compiled by the Children's Defense Fund says no. The survey was conducted by questioning both parents and students as to the reasons given for the imposition of suspensions. The survey revealed that 63.4 percent of the suspensions were for school rules violations and not for violence in the schools.[43]

Suspensions have also been found to have a disproportionate impact upon students with certain characteristics of race, sex, and income. Blacks were found to be suspended more often for discretionary minor offenses and fights, whereas white students were placed under suspension more often for attendance problems and violations of the law.[44] Males are twice as likely to

be suspended as females, and students who are poor enough to receive free or reduced price lunches are more likely to be suspended.[45]

The long-range impact of suspensions upon students can be one of rejection in its message.[46] Certain students simply resolve to quit school early to avoid the hassle. The arbitrary imposition of suspensions sometimes makes students question how fair school justice really is. Indeed, the student is labeled as a troublemaker and is not only denied the social structure in his life, but also his chance for academic success during the year. Such impacting upon the career of a student has provided a wealth of litigation over the years which culminated in the celebrated case of *Goss v. Lopez*.[47]

Although case law is unclear as to whether a pupil may be suspended or expelled permanently from school, one Illinois court has ruled that an expulsion cannot extend beyond the end of the current school year,[48] and a South Carolina court has held that a principal has the authority to suspend pupils unless denied that authority by the school board.[49]

School law was confusing in its application of due process before *Goss* in that the Due Process Clause might be applicable to short term suspensions in one court and inapplicable in another for suspension of three days was subject to the provisions of the Due Process Clause in the case of *Shanley v. Northeast Independent School District, Bexar County, Texas*,[50] but not applicable to a suspension of three days in the case of *Dunn v. Tyler*.[51] The federal courts have demonstrated the same variation in their decisions.

In 1971, existing Ohio law allowed a principal to suspend students for up to ten days for misconduct or to expel the students from school. Notification had to be made to the parents within 24 hours of the suspension stating the reason for the action. The law allowed an expelled pupil the right to a hearing before the board of education, but no such provision existed for pupils under suspension. Nine pupils who were suspended from school during a period of unrest in the Columbus, Ohio, schools during the months of February and March, 1971, sued in federal court charging that they had been denied due process of the law contrary to the 14th Amendment in that they were suspended from school without a hearing prior to suspension or within a reasonable time thereafter. They also sought to have the administrators remove all traces of their suspensions from their official school records.

The preponderance of evidence was that no such hearings had been held, and pursuant to the plaintiffs charges, the Ohio statute which permitted the suspensions was declared unconstitutional. The defendants appealed on the basis that the right to an education does not exist under the Constitution, and the Due Process Clause does not apply to suspensions as they do not represent a "severe detriment or grievous loss" to the students. The U.S. Supreme Court, in upholding the decision of the District Court, stopped short of requiring hearings which would involve counsel, cross-examining witnesses, etc.; but felt rather that an informal hearing would act as a measure of safety against an erroneous action by an administrator. Also, the matter only applied to suspensions shorter than ten days. Other length suspensions might require more formal procedures.

Reaction to *Goss* was to be expected in light of the resulting confusion as to what the Court intended as a due process hearing. However, the process has proven to be neither elaborate nor time consuming, and is in line with most existing school practices.[52] Many lower courts and local and state boards of

education have adapted their laws and procedures to include those situations involving longer suspensions so as to be in line with *Goss*.[53]

One area of litigation which has arisen concerning *Goss* has been the question of suspension or expulsion of special education students. The argument has been that any action of this kind changes a student's special education placement which cannot be done without amending the student's individualized educational plan. The main problem arose in this area in the case of *Stuart v. Nappi*[54] where a Connecticut special education pupil was prevented from being expelled because of this placement. The court held that certain rights established under P.L. 94-142 would be violated if the student were expelled from school. Among these were: (1) the right to an "appropriate public education"; (2) the right to remain in her present placement until the resolution of her special education complaint; (3) the right to an education in the "least restrictive environment," and (4) the right to have all changes of placement effectuated in accordance with prescribed procedures.[55] The courts have, however, proven lenient so far in their treatment of short-term or emergency suspensions involving special education students as long as the minimal procedures set forth in *Goss* are observed.[56]

A comparison of the rulings in *Goss* and *Ingraham* would lead administrators to view the rulings as basically in conflict. Consider that *Goss* imposes a minimal due process hearing so that an erroneous action might not be taken; whereas *Ingraham* states that such an action or hearing would decrease the value of the corporal punishment by virtue of the delay. One must consider the *Ingraham* ruling in light of the earlier *Baker* case and, as such, follow the *Baker* guidelines to eliminate any potential conflicts which might arise in future litigation. The due process issue is far from settled in these areas.

A Movement Towards Alternatives

Dissatisfaction with current methods of discipline and the restraints being placed upon school systems in maintaining discipline have forced educators to seek alternative methods of dealing with the disruptive student. Francis Ianni, Director of the Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute at Teachers College, Columbia University, feels that what is needed in the schools are rules which allow a "firm, fair, and consistent structure of social control."[57] Ianni states that the key is a consistent, even-handed application of these rules without exception, and that the rules serve educational, rather than disciplinary, ends.

Roland Barth, Harvard Graduate School of Education, echoes this concern for consistency in stating that schools often "do not have enough effective ways to say to a child, 'If you do that again, _____ will happen.'"[58] Barth recommends setting up a process within the school modeled upon the adult legal system. Three levels of rules are formulated: at the classroom level (where diversity is permitted), in common areas (where no diversity is allowed, or desired), and at the office level for true disciplinary problems. Barth recommends the use of letters and conferences with parents at which one or two of the child's behavior problems become the focus and rules are spelled out to the child. The conference is followed by sending a letter home from the principal summarizing what was discussed and the manner in which the child is expected to behave upon his/her return to school. If the child again fails to live up to the agreement, (s)he is sent home

for a day. Barth has found the system effective in that it backs up the promise of the school with force as well as concern. Here the key is "clear expectations and carefully laid out consequences."[59]

Thomas McDaniel, Director of the Master's Education Program at Converse College, feels that teachers may effectively incorporate elements of three models (behavioral, human relations, and pedagogical) into their teaching styles to prevent disciplinary problems from arising in the first place.[60] The main elements of the behavioral model involve modeling and establishing rewards for desirable behavior and using positive verbal and non-verbal responses to praise that behavior in the classroom. In the human relations model the teacher treats the students with respect and politeness, negotiates with students to establish rules of behavior, and communicates effectively with students by using various techniques. The pedagogical model is designed to prevent problems in the classroom through motivational and assertiveness techniques, and providing varied lessons and a series of natural consequences of student misbehavior. Through these models effective discipline, it is felt, may be maintained at the classroom level.

Edward Lichtenstein, Coordinator of Alternative Education Programs in the Wallingford-Swarthmore School District in Pennsylvania, suggests several alternatives to suspension of students from the school itself.[61] Among these are the development of (1) a "time-out program" to allow the schools time to develop a program to put a student back into the regular classroom environment; (2) a "halfway program" for students moving from special education classes to mainstreaming; (3) special work-study programs; and (4) special self-contained classrooms for disruptive students. Although these measures are intended to aid in avoiding suspension and expulsion of special education students, there is no reason that they could not also be applied to the problem of suspensions and expulsions at large.

Barbara Martin, a teacher at Lynnfield High School in Massachusetts, describes a special in-school suspension room within her school, known as "The Slammer," which has proven very successful in dealing with disruptive students.[62] Students are assigned to a special classroom by referral and are allowed a "cooling-off time" to vent their frustrations and tell their side of "what really happened." Records are kept by the two part-time teachers in charge, and a contract is drawn up between student and teacher as to expectations and responsibilities. Lessons are sent to the room by the teachers of the students so that they may keep up with their classwork during the day-long confinement. The number of students assigned is limited to five. The room provides an "oasis" with a sympathetic ear within the student's troubles at school; and it provides a positive structured alternative to those irresponsible students with whom traditional methods have previously failed.

Daniel Duke, Professor of Education at Stanford University, feels that the only solution to school disciplinary problems is to break up the large urban schools into smaller, more manageable units with self-contained or speciality programs.[63] Duke states that certain students are not ready to make the transition from self-contained classroom to a large secondary school with multiple teachers and expectations.

Duke also finds fault with the way in which educational research has tended to shift the blame for disciplinary problems from the student to other environmental and personal factors.[64] In effect, this "depersonalization of

blame" has only served to mask the issue, rather than focusing upon it. Duke feels that school discipline may not be linked to harsher rules and punishments, but rather to whether students are willing to accept responsibility for their own behavior.

Implications for Educational Policy

Education, as with other fields of social policy, has had a relationship with law for hundreds of years. During the 1960's, we saw the evolvement of significant changes in social policy and an emerging new relationship between the two, mainly due to the expansion of law into education, in the *Brown* decision. Our prime concern here is on the nexus between student discipline and its implications for educational policy. Even today, many view legal intervention into the educational arena as *deux ex machina*, that only causes havoc in the school's operation. This notwithstanding, there is a need to study the issue of student discipline and draw some implications for educational policy.

The basic implication of historical and legal trends of discipline is that through disciplinary practices, we are affirming a social policy in America. Riggan[65] asserts that American education has lived with at least two essential but contradicting social policies. First, universal education of the citizenry for participation in a democratic society; and second, the identification of elites and non-elites for capitalistic production processes through mechanisms such as class, race and sex. Carnoy states that "the discipline of workers is maintained through the promise of good pay, steady work and possible promotion for those who conform."[66] The work alone is without value to the worker, incentives must be utilized to insure appropriate working behavior. Traditionally in schools, the attraction of promotion and high grades has helped to maintain discipline. However, with the present economy and the job situation, the probability of social success from education has deteriorated. Likewise, the grading system is no longer adequate to maintain student discipline. These are not the point of discussion here. We merely wish to illustrate that in discussing the implications of the historical and legal trends of school discipline, i.e., extra homework, detention, suspension or corporal punishment, we need to keep clearly in mind the fundamental social policy used to legitimize disciplinary practices as part of the educational process.

The issue is, which social policy is being affirmed in the kinds of disciplinary practices used? Conformity to socially prescribed norms and expectations for participation in production processes appears to be the affirmed policy. History documents this fact quite clearly. The American public because of religious roots has consistently believed in corporal punishment in schools as acceptable disciplinary practice to modify unacceptable behavior and to use fear as a means of motivating students to subscribe to the regulated ways of society.[67] This belief in physical punishment is associated with the public's continued concern with those unacceptable behaviors in the schools and therefore "lack of discipline."[68]

Parents, teachers and administrators continue to see child-rearing through historical lenses. Therefore, they give credence to the use of external sanctioning systems such as physical punishment that advocate social conformity. The social conformity promoted is one that makes an individual fit

for their prescribed place in society.[69] With the use of western democratic philosophy, came a belief in freedom, due process and individual rights.

This new set of beliefs became the foundation for the development of an alternative approach to discipline. The new approach to discipline was characterized by acceptance of less restrictive behaviors of the young and the rewarding of acceptable behavior. The aim of discipline did not change, but the approach did. Control and training are still the objectives, but discipline is now defined as self-control developed with the support of a reward system. The alternative approach to discipline has become the opposing legacy of the progressive educator.[70] This legacy sheds light on the conflicts as to the definition of school discipline. On the one hand discipline is viewed as a set of sanctioning practices characterized by pain, fear and/or deprivation, that promote external-control and social irresponsibility. On the other hand, discipline is viewed as a set of rewarding practices characterized by pleasure, confidence and self-affirmation that promote self-control and social responsibility. The conflict is often reflected in schools in debates over whether discipline is a curricular matter, inseparable from pedogogical aims and methods, or whether discipline is a managerial responsibility of teachers and administrators.[71]

Today, the progressive definition of discipline is less acceptable. This follows from the fact that American educational goals of self-direction and social responsibility continue to have less value than those of social conformity.[72] Instead, discipline is expressed in schools as a matter of traditional practice of chastisement expressed in terms of managerial responsibility. As a managerial function, discipline involves both the matter of *in loco parentis* role of school personnel and the matter of the rights of students and parents. The implications are quite clear in regards to these matters.

Litigation trends suggest clearly that social control for production processes is the real meaning of the heavy involvement of the judiciary system in education. The turning to the liberal courts by ethnic/racial, language or gender minorities; by student rights advocates and by the handicapped during the '60's and '70's was the result of the failure of other forces within our political system to provide the expected social justice. Now, right wing conservatives have successfully come to the bench. Traditional disciplinary practices are regaining social legitmacy through legal decisions. Still in public schools, every administrative act must be tested against constitutional restrictions.

> ". . . where an attempt is made to enforce an unreasonable or *ultra vires* rule, aggrieved parties may have resource to the court . . ."[73]

In effect,

> . . .where the state punishes students for disobeying school rules, the state has engaged in "state action," which is subject to the prohibitions contained in the First and Fourteenth Amendments. The nub of this legal doctrine is that constitutional guarantees such as freedom of speech and religion, equal protection of the laws, and due process of law apply only to acts of the state . . .[74]

The role of the administrator and teacher has been strengthened in some cases, to achieve "more effective" discipline in the school. Much of this has been achieved through educational policies and court decisions, in spite of student and parent opposition. They are exercising their rights as citizens to

employ legal remedies against school disciplinary practices, which were perceived not to be judicious. School personnel and school boards have successfully withstood these efforts to remedy dubious disciplinary practices, under several guises. First, the maintaining of discipline in schools; second, the ambiguity of student due process; and third, the supposed protection of themselves and school staff from civil or criminal liability.

This struggle over school discipline has resulted in an adversary school-community relationship that often does not help neither the teacher, nor the student in the classroom. This adversarial relationship is one where teachers and administrators blame parents for "lack of discipline" or "lack of adequate social and emotional support" at home, while parents blame teachers and administrators either for "insufficient discipline" or "misuse" of discipline.[75]

In short, the role of discipline is merely one of maintaining the state's end; namely, an educated and enlightened citizenry. Schools, in order to survive, are committed to this purpose through enforcement of rules, regulations, and procedures for carrying them out. Rules, regulations and procedures that are not judiciously applied are contradictory to the purpose of schooling. The consequences of this enforcement continue to be inappropriate to the needs of students.

Recommendations

Educators must make every effort to address school discipline in ways that will be constructive and supportive of a student's learning experiences. They must do this in spite of the historical and legal trends towards conservative school discipline.

The promise of the aforementioned appears to hold the key to effective school discipline in the decade which is upon us. It is therefore recommended that school systems use a multiple-alternative-methods approach toward solving student disciplinary problems. In addition, it must also be realized by administrators that specialists, i.e., counselors, social workers, psychologists, must be employed as part of an overall approach to student discipline. Well-meaning approaches cannot hope to succeed without them.

Government officials will also have to realize that novel approaches such as in-school suspension programs, will need to be funded, monitored and evaluated, in order to show their effectiveness. School officials and their representatives in the state legislatures and at the Congressional level will have to carefully prepare their cases in requesting these funds. Due to financial exigency in education, the trend has been to reduce spending in light of tax reformers and the public demand for economy and efficiency in government. One can only speculate at the economy of not funding such alternatives, when the price of losses incurred by maintaining the *status quo* through its future impact is astronomical.

Finally, further study is imperative. Studies which report on various aspects of student discipline have been conducted. Solutions have been developed, but inadequately operationalized. Clearly, educators are cognizant of the problem. Our goal is meaningful and effective change, in terms of the state and the student. Why have educational organizations failed to alleviate the problem? "The more things change, the more they remain the same" philosophy[76] is perpetuated in the structure of education. This most

rudimentary principle must be reanalyzed and placed in meaningful perspective.

END NOTES

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[2]Harris and Fields, *supra* note 1, at 88.

[3]Neill, Suspensions and Expulsions: Current Trends in Schools Policies and Programs, (Arlington: National School Public Relations Association, ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 127720, 1976).

[4]Yudof, "Suspension and Expulsion of Black Students from the Public Schools: Academic Capital Punishment and the Constitution," *Law and Contemporary Problems*,Vol. 39, No. 2, (Spring, 1975), at 374-411.

[5]Travers, "An Historic View of School Discipline," *Educational Horizons*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (Summer, 1980), at 184.

[6]*Id.* at 184-5.

[7]*Id.* at 185.

[8]Jones and Tanner, "Classroom Discipline: The Unclaimed Legacy," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 62, No. 7 (March, 1981), at 495.

[9]*Id.* at 497.

[10]Stensrud and Stensrud, "Discipline: An Attitude, Not An Outcome," *The Educational Forum*, Vol. XLV, No. 2 (January, 1981), at 163.

[11]*Id.* at 166.

[12]Duke, "School Discipline Policy in the 1980's," *The Education Digest*, (February, 1981), at 6-7.

[13]*Id.*

[14]"Allow Spanking in Schools?," *U.S. News and World Report*, (June 2, 1980), at 65.

[15]*Id.*

[16]"The Unsparing Rod Returns To School," *Newsweek*, (March 3, 1980), at 50.

[17]"Allow Spanking in Schools?," *op. cit.*

[18]Ramella, "Anatomy of Discipline: Should Punishment Be Corporal?," *PTA Magazine*, Vol. 67 (June, 1973), at 25.

[19]"It's Time To Hang Up The Hickory Stick," *Educational Digest*, Vol. 38 (June, 1973), at 34.

[20]Ramella, at 25.

[21]395 F.Supp. 294, 96 S.Ct. 210 (1975).

[22]*Id.* at 294.

[23]*Id.* at 299.

[24]*Id.* at 295.

[25]*Id.* at 302.

[26]*Id.* at 303.

[27]*Baker v. Owen*, 423 U.S. 907 (1975).

[28]Splitt, "School Law: A $20,000 Spanking," *The Executive Educator*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (January, 1981), at 16.

[29]*Ingraham v. Wright*, 525 F.2d. 909 (1976), 425 U.S. 990 (1977).
[30]*Id.* at 914.
[31]*Id.* at 918.
[32]*Goss v. Lopez*, 419 U.S. 565, 95 S.Ct. 729, L.Ed.2d. 725 (1975).
[33]525 F.2d. at 919.
[34]*Id.* at 919.
[35]425 U.S. 990.
[36]III *Blackstone Commentaries* 120.
[37]*United States v. Barnett*, 376 U.S. 681, 692.
[38]No. 78-1553 (4th Circuit, May 9, 1980).
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[45]*Id.* at 8.
[46]*Id.* at 8-9.
[47]419 U.S. 565, 95 S.Ct. 729, 42 L.Ed.2d. 725.
[48]*Board of Education v. Helston*, 32 Ill. App. 300 (1889).
[49]*Stanley v. Gary*, 237 S.C. 237, 116 S.E.2d. 843 (1960).
[50]462 F.2d. 960, 967 n.4 (C.A.5, 1972).
[51]460 F.2d. 137 (C.A.5, 1972).
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[53]Flygare, "Some Jubilee Year Observations," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 62, No. 5 (January, 1981), at 390.
[54]443 F.Supp. 1235 (1978).
[55]*Id.* at 1240.
[56]Flygare, "Some Jubilee Year Observations," *supra*.
[57]Ianni, "A Positive Note On Schools And Discipline," *Educational Leadership*, Vol. 37, No. 6 (March, 1980), at 458.
[58]Barth, "Discipline: If You Do That Again, _____," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 61, No. 6 (February, 1980), at 398.
[59]*Id.* at 400.
[60]McDaniel, "Exploring Alternatives to Punishment: The Keys to Effective Discipline," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 61, No. 7 (March, 1980), at 455.
[61]Lichtenstein, "Suspension, Expulsion, and the Special Education Student," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 61, No. 7 (March, 1980), at 460-61.
[62]Martin, "The Slammer: An In-School Suspension Program," *The Education Digest*, (January, 1980), at 36-38.
[63]Duke, "School Disciplinary Policy in the 1980's," at 8-9.
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[66]Carnoy, *Marxian Approaches To Education* (Stanford University: Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance, July, 1980), at 69.
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[75]Martin, Baksh and Singh, "Observations from Teachers and Students on School Discipline," *The Clearinghouse*, Vol. 54, No. 2, (October, 1980), at 80-82.

[76]Sarason, *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change*, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971), at 2.

STUDENT DISCIPLINARY SUSPENSIONS: REFLECTIONS ON CASE LAW WITH AN EYE TOWARDS ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY

Richard E. Fields

Introduction

It has been a common practice for America to view its children as instruments of its own future. Children are being forced to serve long sentences in the public schools under the guise of compulsory attendance and, until recently, have had little to say about their roles. The children frequently see the American system of education as only one in which they are expected to learn democratic values and ideas through first knowing totalitarianism.[1]

In 1843, Horace Mann was denounced as a corrupter of moral and educational standards when he suggested that the stern American system of education might be softened. Mann could not cite an instance throughout his European inspection trip in which he had seen a blow struck by a teacher. The masters' of the Boston grammar schools only response was to emphasize that discipline was "the cornerstone of all order"[2] — an all-too-familiar rationale applied to the "non-persons" which were the students of that day.

In the era of the 1970's, students finally gained the status of "persons," both in and out of school, under the U.S. Constitution.[3] As such, the students now enjoy certain fundamental protections from the arbitrary imposition of punishments by school authorities. In 1975, the case of *Goss v. Lopez*[4] ultimately extended to students the right to be heard before any formal action for short-term suspension could occur. The implications of that decision have been far-reaching and have ultimately rewritten educational policy across the land.

I: Societal Setting For The Study

The Children's Defense Fund's report of *Children Out Of School* found that the 1970 census revealed a total of nearly 2 million school children between the ages of 7 and 17 were not in school.[5] In probing further into the problem, the Fund conducted an extensive series of interviews with 8,500 in 30 states. The results of that survey convinced the Defense Fund that the census figures "reflect only the surface of how many children are out of school in America."[6]

The problem affects all segments of American society — regardless of race, color, or economic level. Some non-enrollment is traceable to economic problems; others to lack of proper facilities to handle certain handicaps. The most inexplicable cause, however, is found to be the wide-spread and often arbitrary and discriminatory use of suspension to remove students from school.[7] The implications of these suspensions are that the children affected

usually end up in situations which are far more serious than if they had been retained in school and allowed to work out their problems.[8]

The Children's Defense Fund survey found that only a small percentage of all suspensions were related to safety of individuals or the destruction of property.[9] Even the rationale that suspension will bring the parents into the school to help in the consideration of the child's case is a failure in 33 per cent of the cases.[10] Worst of all, the suspension often marks only the first of a series of exclusions from school which lead to the eventual termination of the child's formal education.

The number of suspension cases in the year 1972-73 reflect the enormity of the problem. New York City schools suspended over 20 thousand students; Cleveland, 11 thousand; Houston, 9 thousand; the states of Ohio and New Jersey, more than 36 thousand; and South Carolina, 38 thousand. The suspensions are also heavily weighted against minority students. New York, with its 64 per cent minority students, handed out 86 per cent of its suspensions to minority students. Dallas, which has a 50 per cent minority, reportedly out 70 per cent of its suspensions to minorities. The evidence also shows that the suspensions are applied more often to the poor than to the affluent.[11]

An HEW study conducted in the year 1972-73 sampled 2,908 school districts containing half the nation's school children and more than 90 per cent of the minority students. Blacks, who accounted for 27 per cent of the students enrolled, made up 42 per cent of the suspensions. Whites, composing 62 per cent of the students, only received 51 per cent of the suspensions.[12]

A further consequence of the suspension process is that within a year of the final falling away from school, children often become involved in criminal activities.[13] The recording of the suspension on the child's school record has the effect of permanently "marking" the child to any potential employer, police department, or academic program administrator who can obtain permission to view that record.[14] His placement in educational programs and his chance for employment often rest with the information on these records.

Thomas J. Cottle, currently on leave from the Children's Defense Fund, gives us an insight into the problems of a child of 17, "Jimmy McGuinness," whose history of suspensions finally led to his dropping out of school and his difficulties in finding employment thereafter.[15] Jimmy states his opinion very simply:

> You know what I am, man? I'm an ex-con who's never been in prison. . . . Hell, a real ex-con who finished school, maybe in prison, he'll get a job faster than I will . . . and all I done was fight once or twice in the school. . . . I'm worse off than (the ex-con) by far. Prison helped him out, but my school wouldn't help me out. . . . They killed me, my school. . . . They *thought* all they were doing was throwing me out for five, ten days at a time. . . . It's easier to let people like me fall away. First we fall away, then we crawl away. . . . Then we're dead.[16]

II: Foundations Of General School Law

The Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution states that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. Due process is further divided into two classifications — procedural and substantive. The latter doctrine has only existed under law since 1923. Substantive due process requires that if a State is going to deprive a person of life,

liberty, or property, it must demonstrate a valid objective; and the means employed must be reasonable to achieve that objective.[17] Procedural due process, on the other hand, requires that before depriving an individual of life, liberty, or property, three basic factors must be present to satisfy prescribed Constitutional procedures. The individual must first be given notice that he is about to be deprived of life, liberty, or property; he must be given the opportunity to be heard; and the hearing must be conducted fairly.[18]

Originally, the Constitutional guarantees of procedural due process were viewed by the courts as only being applicable to trial be jury. In recent years, the courts have extended the doctrine to include individuals affected by the decisions of administrative agencies, such as public schools, where the possible loss of a fundamental right was present. One court has held that constitutional scrutiny becomes a factor in disciplinary actions when those actions involve suspension "for any period of time substantial enough to prevent one from obtaining credit for a particular term."[19]

One early test of procedural due process being required for students before suspension from school may be found in *Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education*.[20] The case concerned the expulsion from school of several students for attending demonstrations located at a lunch grill in the basement of the Montgomery County Courthouse and in other places in and around the Alabama State College Campus. Even though it was the usual practice of the college to give a student a hearing and opportunity to offer a defense before being expelled, no such hearings were granted to the students involved in this case. While the district court had found that no such notice of opportunity for hearing was actually required, the U.S. Court of Appeals tended to disagree.

The Court of Appeals explained that whenever a governmental body acts to injure an individual, the U.S. Constitution requires that the act be consistent with the doctrine of due process of law. The minimum procedural requirements for such observance of due process will vary with the circumstances of each case, but the danger of arbitrary application of a rule must be carefully guarded against. In this case, the court found that there was no consideration of immediate danger to the general public, or to the peril of national security, which would have prevented the college from allowing the students the opportunity to be heard. The court further held that such treatment of students by the college would ultimately have the effect of breaking their spirit and do inestimable harm to their education.

The court went on to elaborate on the procedural due process issue. The court did not call for full-dress judicial hearings to be granted in every case of suspension — that would vary with the circumstances of each case. But the court did state that the student is entitled to be given the names of the witnesses against him and an oral or written report as to their testimony. The student should be allowed to present his own defense against the charges and to present testimony and/or witnesses on his behalf. If those procedures were followed, the court said that this would satisfy the requirements for due process of law. The lower court's judgment upholding the suspension of the students was reversed and the cause remanded.

In the wake of *Dixon*, a "Joint Statement on Rights and Freedoms of Students"[21] was drafted by a joint committee comprised of representatives from the American Association of University Professors, U.S. National Stu-

dent Association, Association of American Colleges, National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, and the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors. The statement called for procedural fair play through insuring that a student be informed of the nature of the charges against him, that the institution not be arbitrary in its actions, that the student be given the opportunity to refute the charges against him, and that there be established a process by which the student might appeal the institution's decision. To insure this, the statement calls for the following safeguards when there are no existing honor codes offering comparable guarantees:

A) In the Matter of Standards of Conduct Expected of Students:
   1) The institution should clarify those standards of behavior which it considers essential to its educational mission and community life.
   2) Offenses should be as clearly defined as possible.
   3) Disciplinary procedures should be instituted only for those violations of student conduct formulated with student participation and published in advance advance through a student handbook or other generally through a student handbook or other generally available body of student regulations.

B) Investigations of Student Conduct:
   1) Except under emergency circumstances, students' premises and personal property should not be searched without authorization.
   2) Students detected or arrested in the course of serious violations of institutional regulations or infractions of the law should be informed of their constitutional rights.

C) Status of Students Pending Final Action:
   1) The status of the student should not be altered pending action on the charges.
   2) The student should not have his right to be present on the campus suspended unless for reasons of safety to himself or others.

D) Hearing Committee Procedures:
   1) The committee should consist of faculty members and/or students. No person having an interest in the proceedings should sit in judgment.
   2) The student should be informed, in writing, of the reasons for the proposed disciplinary action in sufficient detail and with enough notice to insure opportunity to prepare an adequate defense.
   3) The student should have the right to an advisor at the hearing.
   4) The burden of proof should rest upon the officials bringing the charges.
   5) The student should be given the opportunity to testify and to present evidence and witnesses of his own and to question adverse witnesses.
   6) Any decision of the hearing committee should be based solely on the evidence presented at the hearing.
   7) A record of the hearing should be kept.
   8) The decision of the hearing committee is to be considered final — subject to appeal by the student.

The *Code of Student Rights and Responsibilities* developed by the NEA's Task Force on Student Involvement in 1971 would provide these and similar guarantees in case of suspensions lasting more than one day.[22]

The right of the school to suspend students has not been questioned by the courts. A South Carolina court has held that a principal has the inherent right and authority to suspend pupils unless deprived of that authority by the school board.[23] Generally, the suspension of a student is upheld by the courts if it can be shown that the student violated a reasonable school rule or that his continued presence constitutes a danger to others. In a 1906 case, the Commissioner of New York State held that it was the duty of a school to expel a student who swore, smoked on school grounds, and fought with a teacher attempting to discipline him.[24]

Exactly what length of time constitutes a "temporary" suspension and the need to afford due process has been the topic of endless court decisions in various states. One Illinois court has held that expulsion of a student by a school board must not extend beyond the end of a current school year.[25] On shorter suspensions, the record of the lower courts is very divided. The circuit courts have held that the Due Process Clause must apply to indefinite suspensions,[26] to a 10-day suspension,[27] and to a 3-day suspension.[28] Other circuit courts have held that the Due Process Clause does not apply to a 7-day suspension,[29] to a 3-day suspensionsuspension,[30] and to all suspensions no matter how short.[31] Federal district courts have produced an equally divided opinion on requiring due process for suspensions. The Due Process Clause has been held to apply to interrim suspensions pending expulsion,[32] to a 10-day suspension,[33] to suspensions of under 5 days,[34] and to all suspensions.[35] Other federal district courts have held that the Clause does not apply to suspensions of 25 days,[36] to suspensions of 10 days,[37] and to suspensions of 8 days.[38] With such diverse opinions prevalent in the courts, a definitive ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court on the need to afford procedural due process in short-term suspension cases was inevitable.

III: The Immediate Concern

In 1971, the school system of Columbus, Ohio, was experiencing an increase in black militancy and black student awareness. During Black History week, high school students and administrators clashed over many issues including which community leaders should be allowed to speak at school assemblies.[39] Disturbances quickly arose out of the disagreements. At least 75 students in one school were suspended on the same day.[40] All suspended students received zeros for work missed during their suspensions. Some of the suspended students were given unsolicited transfers to other schools or to an adult day school.[41] None of the students was ever given a hearing, and some of them never knew the reason why they were suspended.

Feeling that an injustice had been done, some of the students — among them Dwight Lopez and Betty Crome — filed suit in federal court seeking an order to force the school board to take immediate remedial action.[42] The three-judge District Court for the Southern District of Ohio declared that the appellees were denied due process of law in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, declared the statute under which the students were suspended to be unconstitutional, and granted the students the requested injunction. The case went on appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

The case of *Goss v. Lopez*[43] was argued before the U.S. Supreme Court on October 16, 1974, and decided on January 22, 1975. The Court found that while the right to an education is not considered as fundamental under the U.S. Constitution,[44] the State of Ohio had chosen to extend the right of an education to its people in general and might not withdraw that right on grounds of misconduct without observing the minimal procedures required by the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.[45] The State had thus created a property interest to which the students had a just entitlement.[46] The State of Ohio's claim that it had the right to unilaterally and without due process determine whether misconduct had occurred and to punish that misconduct runs the risk of damaging a student's reputation as well as interferring with his chances for educational and employment opportunities. As such, the State's claim is in direct conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantees against arbitrary deprivation of liberty.[47] Furthermore, a 10-day suspension from school is not to be considered as *de minimus* and must not be imposed without regard for the procedures of the Due Process Clause.[48]

The U.S. Supreme Court elaborated on the requirements for observing due process by stating that the procedure does not involve the more formal guarantees of right to counsel, the confrontation of witnesses and their cross-examination, and the need to produce witnesses on his own behalf.[49] The Court realized that a formalizing of the suspension process would unnecessarily burden the school systems with a costly mechanism which would destroy the effectiveness of this disciplinary tool as part of the teaching process.[50]

The Court emphasized the fact that the Due Process Clause would not shield students from suspensions properly imposed. The Court's concern was that disciplinarians, although proceeding in utmost good faith, frequently find themselves acting on the reports and advice of others when the controlling facts and nature of the conduct are often disputed.[51] The Court felt the risk of error to be not at all trivial.

The following rules were laid down as the guidelines under which short-term suspensions of less than 10 days would be imposed: 1) The student must be given notice, either written or oral, concerning the charges against him; 2) If the student denies the charges, an explanation of the evidence against him must be provided and an opportunity to present his side of the argument afforded the student; and 3) Notice and hearing should precede the student's removal from school, unless his continued presence constitutes a threat to persons or property or disrupts the academic process. In such circumstances, the notice and hearing should be held as soon as practicable.[52] The Court, in affirming the judgment of the lower court by a vote of 5-4, added that longer suspensions or expulsions might require more formal proceeding.[53]

In writing the Court's dissenting opinion, Mr. Justice Powell, himself a former school board member,[54] expressed fears that the majority decision unnecessarily opens avenues for judicial intervention in the operation of the schools that may adversely affect the quality of education in the United States.[55] Powell and the minority did not reach the conclusion that a suspension of not more than 10 days, imposed as a routine disciplinary measure, assumed constitutional dimensions. The original Ohio statute only imposed a

maximum suspension of eight school days, less than 5 per cent of a normal 180-day school year. The minority could hardly see how such a short-term suspension could possibly affect a pupil's opportunity to learn or his scholastic performance.[56] The minority further held that, as in *Epperson v. Arkansas*,[57] the courts "do not and cannot intervene in the resolution of conflicts which arise in the daily operation of school systems and which do not directly and sharply implicate basic constitutional values."

In attacking the majority's decision requiring minimal procedural due process, the minority pointed to the *amicus curiae* briefs filed by both the Children's Defense Fund and various school associations which illustrated the magnitude of the disciplinary problem in the public schools. As over 10 per cent of the junior and senior high school students sampled were suspended one or more times in the year 1972-73, the minority felt that if hearings were required for a substantial number of these suspensions, the school authorities would have little time for anything else.[58]

The State's interest in maintaining discipline is in no way incompatible with the individual interest in the child. Education, the minority felt, involved the inculcation of the necessity for rules and obedience. When immature students merit censure for their actions, the school is inviting a challenge to its own authority by formalizing procedures for the applications of sanctions.[59] Furthermore, the imposition of formalities in disciplining students would tend to destroy the reality of the normal pupil-teacher relationship which is rarely adversary in nature.[60]

Finally, the minority stated that no one could foresee the ultimate frontiers of the new "thicket" which the Court was now entering.[61] The fact that a student may suffer psychological injury in one or more ways (suffering a blow to one's self-esteem, feeling powerless, viewing school authorities with resentment and fear, learning withdrawal as a method of problem-solving, having little perception of the reasons for suspension, and running the risk of being stigmatized),[62] through suspension, will only tend to mean that he also suffers the same deprivations and psychological effects when he is given a failing grade, when he is not promoted, when he is placed in the "wrong" educational track, etc. The requirement that due process be present in all of these routine school decisions seems to be implied by the majority decision. The impact on the courts of their new role in society will be something for which they will have to prepare themselves.[63]

Goss has been cited some 778 times since the original decision in 1975.[64] The applications have ranged from cases involving a student nurse receiving a failing grade to a man suing a local gas company to get his service resumed. The most interesting of the decisions, however, are those which illustrate the different circumstances under which due process may and may not apply to suspensions of students.

In *Sweet v. Childs*,[65] the extent to which a student disrupts a school was discussed by the court in determining the need for a presuspension hearing. A group of black high school students who had staged a "sit-down" and disruption of classes were suspended through the use of a radio announcement after having walked out of school and down to the office of the local superintendent of schools. Following the suspension, the students filed suit against the county and state officials charging that the school's disciplinary policies and procedures resulted in a pattern of racial discrimination. The court held

that the use of a radio announcement to suspend was proper because the students had chosen not to return to school themselves. The court felt that, on the day in question, there was already "more than an ongoing threat of disrupting the academic process."[66] Post-suspension conferences eventually resulted in reinstatement of all of the suspended students before the 10-day suspension period was up. The court ruled in favor of the county and state officials and against the students.

In *Ingraham v. Wright*,[67] a distinction was drawn between loss suffered through corporal punishment and loss suffered through suspension. The case centers upon corporal punishment administered to a student with such severity that the student lost time in his studies through the need to recover from his injuries. Although the case turned upon whether the administration of that paddling constituted cruel and unusual punishment as forbidden under the Eighth Amendment, the issue of due process was discussed in detail in the eventual U.S. Supreme Court decision. The Court held that there exists a fundamental distinction between the paddling and a suspension. A paddling was considered to be a much less serious event in the life of a child than would be a suspension.[68] The dissenting opinion of the lower court questioned whether Ingraham's loss of more than 10 days of schooling should be considered any less of a deprivation of property because it resulted from a beating instead of a formal suspension.[69] The U.S. Supreme Court upheld this and stated definitely that the guarantees to due process stated in *Goss* did not apply to corporal punishment.[70]

The case of *Dallam v. Cumberland Valley School District*[71] set down the limits to which the creation of a property interest can be extended into all areas of education. George Dallam, a transfer student, sought an injunction against a Pennsylvania Athletic Association ruling barring him from participation in interscholastic high school sports for a period of one year. The court felt that the defendant's claim that such "right to compete" is neither a right nor privilege protected by the Constitution is valid. The plaintiff's claim that *Goss* created a protected property interest for him in competing for a place on the high school athletic team, the court felt, would really be creating too great a strain on the concept of property.[72] The defendant's motion to dismiss because of a lack of federal jurisdiction was granted.

In *Alex v. Allen*,[73] a high school student brought suit to challenge his own 30-day suspension on the basis that the charges raised were "too vague" and that he hadn't been given adequate notice. The court held that the charges of showing "disregard of teachers," "loitering," and "rowdy behavior" were not constitutionally vague. The court felt that the child had received an adequate notice, and that he had the opportunity to be heard and to have his attorney present at the hearing. The court ruled in favor of the school board.

The right of a school to suspend when the school is not satisfied with a parent's "excuse" for a student's absence was settled in *Graham v. Board of Education of Idabel School District No. Five*.[74] The court decided that when a student refuses to submit to corporal punishment for unexcused absence following a detailed explanation and hearing by an assistant principal, the student has been accorded due process and does not enjoy any standing to challenge the constitutionality of a State statute governing the use of corporal punishment by a teacher.[75]

The case of *Everett v. Marcase*[76] involved a class action to compel the

Philadelphia School District to employ more detailed procedures for "lateral transfers" (i.e., disciplinary transfers from one nondisciplinary school to another nondisciplinary school). The court felt that because of *Goss*, such transfers involve a property interest and thus warrant due process protection in spite of the contentions of the school district. The court held that this would involve some kind of notice and hearing for the affected pupil, the holding of the hearing by a superior of the principal, and the right to continue attending one's old school until the final decision of the school official is made. The decision is to be final, and no requirement for a right to appeal that decision need be afforded. The procedure was later expanded to include transfers of students to special disciplinary schools within the same district in the case of *Jordan v. School District of Erie, Pennsylvania.*[77]

Finally, in *Coffman v. Kuehler,*[78] a decision similar to several of the cases above was made. The case involved a high school student and his friend who decided to leave school for a college day visit without bothering to obtain permission to do so. The students had been previously warned that such behavior would result in a three-day suspension and "licks."[79] One student received his punishment and returned to school. The parents of Coffman resented this punishment, refused to let their son return to school, and sued. The court ruled against Coffman. In the matter of procedural due process, the court held that the requirements as set forth in *Goss* had been satisfied.[80] The hearing was held as soon as practical, the father was present — acting for his son, and the actions of the students were viewed as constituting a disruption of the school to such an extent that the later hearing was viewed as being almost simultaneous with the suspension for all practical purposes.

The most interesting developments involving suspensions and expulsions have arisen because of the procedural requirements of P.L. 94-142, The Education of All Handicapped Children Act, and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act involving the rights of a special education student to an education in the "least restrictive environment" and to be retained in his/her placement in a program until a conference is held to resolve any complaints or requests for change of placement. The case of *Stuart v. Nappi*[81] arose out of an attempt by a school district in Connecticut to expel a handicapped student for misconduct. The court ruled that while handicapped children are subject to suspension from school, the expulsion of a handicapped child not only has the effect of changing his/her educational placement, but also of restricting the availability of alternative placement in the least restrictive environment for instruction. The school district was enjoined from conducting the expulsion hearing. Another ruling, in *Doe v. Koger,* held that a handicapped child may not be expelled if his disruptive behavior is caused by his handicap.[82] Indeed, most states have taken the provisions of P.L. 94-142 to mean that special education students cannot be punished if their offense is related to their handicap.[83]

The issue of expulsion of special education students again became the subject of a 1981 ruling by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in the case of *S-1 v. Turlington.*[84] Seven mentally retarded students sought injunctions to require state and local officials to provide them with the special educational services and required procedural rights of P.L. 94-142 and Section 504. The students had been expelled from high school for willful defiance of authority, sexual acts, and vandalism. The district court held for the students, holding

that their expulsions were most probably illegal, and granted the injunctions. The school officials appealed the ruling to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The Fifth Circuit ruling followed, generally, the guidelines laid down in *Stuart v. Nappi* in agreeing that an expulsion of a handicapped student constitutes a change in educatioral placement under P.L. 94-142 and Section 504. The court went on to add that expulsion of handicapped students would be permitted, but only as long as proper procedures were utilized and only under the proper circumstances. The court, however, went on to state that educational services should not cease during the expulsion process.

The court also held that even if a handicapped child does not request a ruling as to whether the punishment is related to his/her handicap, the school system is obligated to make such a determination as part of the expulsion process. This determination must be made on an individual basis and with "consideration of the problems and needs of handicapped students" as was intended by the United States Congress.

Case law is not as certain with respect to short-term suspensions for handicapped students. If fact, the line seems to be drawn based upon whether the suspension is for emergency or nonemergency reasons. In effect, one recent federal case held that handicapped students may be suspended for a period of up to 10 days for "nonemergency" reasons,[85] while *S-1 v. Turlington* seems to follow the guidelines of P.L. 94-142 in suggesting that such suspensions must be brief and for emergency reasons where the child is endangering himself/herself or others. In this area of evolving interpretations, the exact position of *Goss* with respect to the safeguards of P.L. 94-142 will doubtless be the subject of much litigation throughout the 1980's.

IV: Implications For Education Today

It is interesting to note that the minority decision of the Court in *Goss* was vigorously endorsed by Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers. Shanker expressed the opinion that the supporters of the students' case were simply trying to undermine teachers' rights. He added that most American teachers "will be saddened to find that their task has been made more difficult by the actions of one of their own teacher organizations", (the NEA).[86] What Shanker referred to was an *amicus curiae* brief filed by the NEA on behalf of the students. The NEA took the position that students are entitled to "detailed procedural rights" for any suspension exceeding one day.[87]

Shanker has not been the only critic of the majority opinion of the court. Ivan Gluckman, legal counsel for the National Association of Secondary School Principals, stated that his members weren't concerned with the high court's suspension directives *per se*, but with the fact that the case may open up the federal courts to all kinds of complaints that "bear on the education of students."[88] M.A. McGhehey, executive secretary of the National Organization on Legal Problems in Education, also sees the possibility of many future lawsuits. Grades, not only in a given course, but also grade point systems that give different weights to different courses, or membership requirements for honor societies, are likely candidates for lawsuits in the immediate future.[89]

Richard W. MacFeely offers us a model for procedural due process as suggested by the *Goss v. Lopez* decision. A diagram of his "Suggested Model For Procedural Due Process"[90] is to be found in the appendix of this paper.

Draba, Hertz, and Christoff[91] have made a survey of the State of Indiana to determine the impact of the *Goss* decision in light of the enactment of Public Law 162. Section 7 of P.L. 162 contains provisions which are similar to the provisions of the Ohio code which was overturned by the Court's decision in *Goss*. Principally, both statutes require that the principal notify the parent within 24 hours of the suspension and explain the reason for the action taken. Neither law required that the principal provide the student notice and a hearing, although Section 7 recommended that the principal make a reasonable effort to hold a conference with the parent prior to the child's return to school.

To test the effect of the *Goss* decision, a survey entitled "Survey of Short Suspension Procedures Prior To Goss" was mailed to almost every junior and senior high school principal in the State of Indiana. More than a 50 per cent return was realized on the 27-question survey.

The survey was divided into four parts: "Background," "Previous To Public Law 162," "Previous To Goss And After Public Law 162," and "General." The survey responses are tabulated in the appendix and are divided by type of school—urban, suburban, and rural.

The survey revealed that, in general, the satisfying of the due process requirements prescribed by the Court in *Goss* will not pose inordinate problems for many principals. Indeed, the good principals had already implemented or exceeded the *Goss* decision requirements at least 4 years before the Court acted on the matter.[92]

Table one reveals that, as expected, students in urban schools are more apt to be suspended than those in suburban schools. For all practical purposes, principals reported almost a 100 per cent general community support on short-term suspensions.[93]

Indiana law restrains a principal from suspending a student for more than five days. Most principals reported that the length of their suspensions is usually two to three days. Indeed, suburban, rural, and urban principals are consistent in this regard.[94] 90 per cent of the principals also report that they spend less than three hours on each suspension. Thus, meeting the requirements of *Goss* will not tax the resources of most principals. Three hours is a small price to pay to insure against the bitterness that often accompanies an unwarranted suspension.[95]

Of course, affording minimal due process has always been simple enough to do. Principals still have the right to lower the boom after the student presents his side of the story. A close interpretation of the Court's ruling might result in the poor student getting raked over the coals with only his own words as a defense.[96] He does not have the right to bring in witnesses, nor to effectively deny the allegations against him because they have not been put in writing.[97]

Still, there will always be dissatisfaction. Bennett[98] has expressed fears that the system resulting from the decision will only serve to weaken the fabric of what administrative tailors used to sew—respect for authority. This system, which attempts to find a "faultless process" can only serve to inhibit the principal's application of just actions.[99]

Today's administrator will have to remember that ever since the doctrine of *in loco parentis* was formulated, the principal has been the subject of some restrictions. A child has certain rights, and those rights will have to be respected by the principal.

The re-defining of the importance of the various actors on the educational stage has been one important consequence of the *Goss* decision. How the rights of the child must be balanced against a changing society and educational processes will become one of the administrator's biggest challenges in the mid-1980's.[100]

V: Summary Recommendations

The public is beginning to demand that educators act in a professionally competent manner—the same demand that society makes upon any of its professionals upon whom it depends. The awareness of this demand can only serve to encourage greater professional attention to students and their rights.[101] Principals will have to be certain that they are observing all the guarantees as set forth in *Goss:* 1) being sure that the student know why he is suspended, 2) being certain that the student knew that what he did was wrong, 3) being certain that the student has an opportunity to tell his side of the story, and 4) being certain that the suspension was not arrived at in some arbitrary or capricious manner.[102]

It would also benefit administrators to closely examine their own use of suspensions. Principals must be certain that the application of those suspensions is not directed disproportionally with regard to minority students. This has too often been the policy in the past. In addition, suspensions are all too often handed down for seemingly trivial offenses. The effect of the suspension is often to acquaint the child early with the fact that he can simply spend more and more time out of school on his own without the need to work at correcting any of his behavioral problems. Not receiving help frequently leads to early failures in school and eventually in life.

The principal must search his mind for possible alternatives to short-term suspensions in order to be certain that he is actually aiding in the child's education—not directing him toward the oblivion of the streets. A child's entire future may be altered forever by the administrator's handling of a suspension. An awareness of *Goss* may cause the situation to be handled to the satisfaction of all. Ignorance of *Goss* will only lead to actions which will satisfy no one. The choice is clear and unavoidable!

End Notes

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[28]*Shanley v. Northeast Independent School District, Bexar County, Texas*, 462 F2d 960, 967 n. 4 (C.A. 5, 1972).
[29]*Linwood v. Peoria*, 463 F2d 763 (C.A. 7), cert. den. 409 U.S. 1027, 93 S.Ct. 475, 34 L.Ed. 2d 320 (1972).
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[33]*Banks v. Board of Public Instruction of Dade County*, 314 F. Supp. 285 (S.D. Florida, 1970), vacated 401 U.S. 988, 91 S.Ct. 1223, 28, L.Ed.2d 526 (1971), aff'm 450 F2d 1103 (C.A. 5, 1971).
[34]*Vail v. Board of Education*, 354 F. Supp. 592 (D.C.N.H. 1973).
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[50]Id., at 583.
[51]Id., at 580.
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[56]Id., at 589.
[57]393 U.S. 97, 104 (1968).
[58]*Goss*, at 592.
[59]Id., at 593.
[60]Id., at 594.
[61]Id., at 597.
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[63]*Goss*, at 598-599.
[64]*Shepherd's Citator* (Through February, 1982).
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[94]Id., at 14.
[95]Id.,at 15.
[96]NEA's General Counsel, *Today's Education*, at 69.
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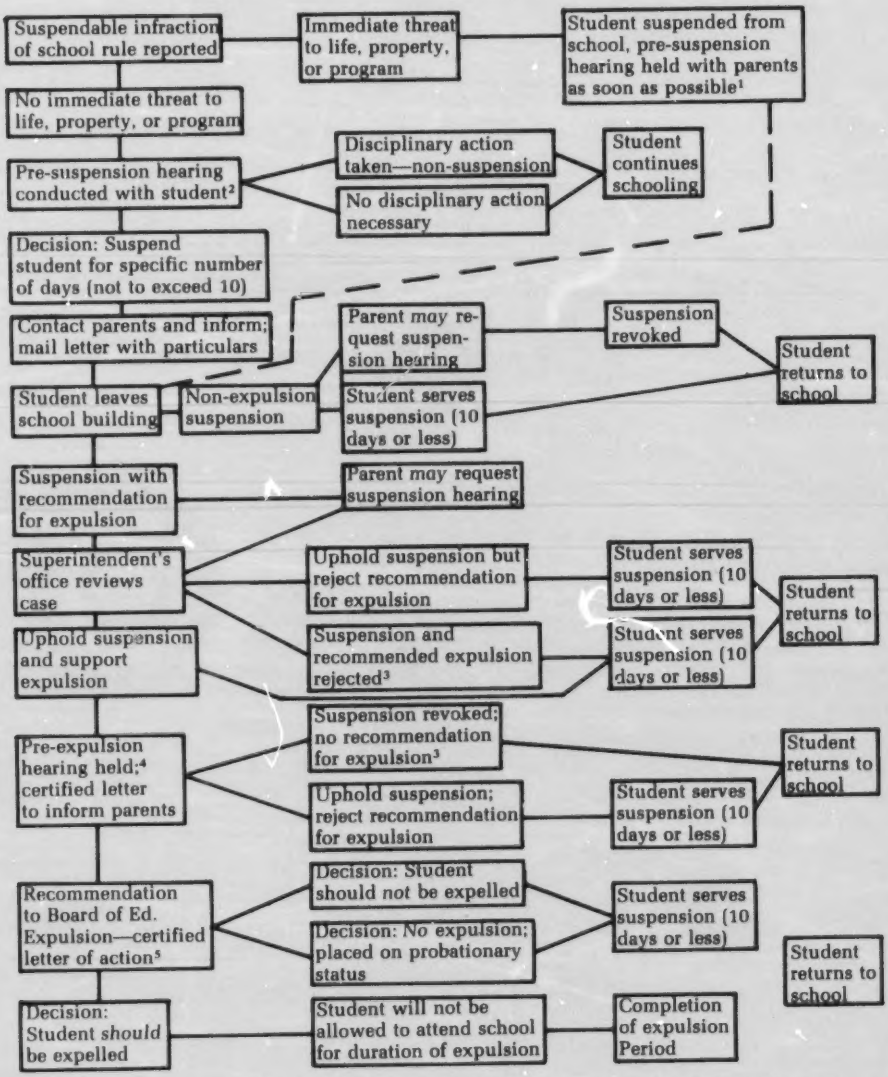
Appendix A

Figure 1. A Suggested Model for Procedural Due Process


Suspendable infraction of school rule reported
Immediate threat to life, property, or program
Student suspended from school, pre-suspension hearing held with parents as soon as possible[1]
No immediate threat to life, property, or program
Pre-suspension hearing conducted with student[2]
Disciplinary action taken—non-suspension
No disciplinary action necessary
Student continues schooling
Decision: Suspend student for specific number of days (not to exceed 10)
Contact parents and inform; mail letter with particulars
Parent may request suspension hearing
Suspension revoked
Student returns to school
Student leaves school building
Non-expulsion suspension
Student serves suspension (10 days or less)
Suspension with recommendation for expulsion
Parent may request suspension hearing
Superintendent's office reviews case
Uphold suspension but reject recommendation for expulsion
Student serves suspension (10 days or less)
Student returns to school
Uphold suspension and support expulsion
Suspension and recommended expulsion rejected[3]
Student serves suspension (10 days or less)
Pre-expulsion hearing held;[4] certified letter to inform parents
Suspension revoked; no recommendation for expulsion[3]
Student returns to school
Uphold suspension; reject recommendation for expulsion
Student serves suspension (10 days or less)
Recommendation to Board of Ed. Expulsion—certified letter of action[5]
Decision: Student should not be expelled
Decision: No expulsion; placed on probationary status
Student serves suspension (10 days or less)
Student returns to school
Decision: Student should be expelled
Student will not be allowed to attend school for duration of expulsion
Completion of expulsion Period

1. After "pre-suspension hearing," continue on schematic from the box "student leaves the school building."
2. Cite charges known, witnesses, rule broken, and listen to student's story of incident.
3. School work missed may be made up.
4. Certified letter mailed to parents, and a copy retained with parent signature obtained at hearing. Letter should inform of time, place, date, and charges. Also inform parent of the right to counsel and witnesses.
5. Mailed to parent, principal, and (if student is under age 16) the district superintendent.

Appendix B

Table 1. Back:round Information

1. Type of school.

Urban (U)	Suburban (S)	Rural (R)
25%	26%	49%

2. Size of school.

	Less than 800	800-1600	1600-2400	2400-3000	Over 3200
U	30%	51%	18%	—	1%
S	39%	48%	13%	—	—
R	77%	22	—	—	

3. Number of years as principal.

	Less than 5	5-10	10-15	Over 15
U	36%	38%	12%	14%
S	25%	40%	21%	14%
R	27%	36%	21%	16%

4. Approximate number of suspensions in the 1973-74 school year.

	Less than 10	10-20	20-50	50-100	100-200	Over 200
U	16%	17%	26%	15%	9%	17%
S	33%	13%	24%	20%	6%	4%
R	53%	24%	16%	5%	2%	—

5. Who handles short suspensions?

	Principal	Principal's designee	Several Administrators
U	29%	38%	33%
S	46%	30%	24%
R	80%	14%	6%

6. Does the community generally support administrative decisions regarding short suspensions of students?

	Yes	No
U	98%	2%
S	100%	—
R	99%	1%

Table 2. "Previous to Public Law 162"

1. Did you generally provide notice and a hearing for students threatened with short suspensions?

	Yes	No	Sometimes (specify)
U	75%	17%	8%
S	64%	29%	7%
R	64%	29%	7%

2. If the answer to the preceding question is yes, then briefly indicate why you provided notice and a hearing.

3. Did you generally tell the student the charges against him?

	Yes	No	Sometimes (specify)
U	99%	—	1%
S	100%	—	—
R	100%	—	—

4. Did you generally permit a student to present his side of the story?

	Yes	No	Sometimes (specify)
U	98%	—	2%
S	96%	1%	3%
R	96%	1%	3%

Table 3. "Previous to Goss and After Public Law 162"

1. Did you generally provide notice and a hearing for students threatened with short suspensions?

	Yes	No	Sometimes (specify)
U	71%	21%	8%
S	68%	26%	6%
R	65%	31%	4%

2. If the answer to the preceding question is yes, then briefly indicate why you provided notice and a hearing.

3. Did you generally tell the student the charges against him and the evidence upon which the charges were based?

	Yes	No	Sometimes (specify)
U	100%	—	—
S	99%	—	1%
R	100%	—	—

4. Did you generally permit a student to present his side of the story?

	Yes	No	Sometimes (specify)
U	100%	—	—
S	100%	—	—
R	98%	—	2%

5. Did you often permit a student to present witnesses and evidence to verify his side of the story?

	Yes	No	Sometimes (specify)
U	57%	18%	25%
S	62%	21%	17%
R	48%	27%	25%

6. Did you ever allow a student to question his accuser?

	Yes	No
U	80%	20%
S	81%	19%
R	72%	28%

7. Have you ever permitted a student's lawyer to attend a short suspension hearing?

	Yes	No
U	9%	91%
S	11%	89%
R	5%	95%

8. If the answer to the preceding question is yes, specify the conditions under which you permitted a lawyer.

9. If a student investigate further?

	Yes	No	Sometimes (specify)
U	87%	1%	12%
S	93%	2%	5%
R	86%	2%	12%

10. If and when you provided a hearing, how long did it generally last (in terms of minutes)?

	Less than 10	10-15	15-25	25-40	More than 40
U	14%	21%	24%	22%	8%
S	11%	26%	33%	22%	8%
R	9%	32%	35%	19%	5%

*11 percent wrote in "varies"

Table 4. "General"

1. What is the average length of your suspensions? (in terms of days)

	1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8-9	10
U	8%	87%	5%	—	—	—
S	2%	82%	16%	—	—	—
R	3%	85%	12%	—	—	—

2. Does your school use in-school suspensions?

	yes	no	sometimes
U	53%	26%	21%
S	40%	39%	21%
R	51%	31%	18%

3. If the answer to the preceding question is yes, what percent of your suspensions are in-school suspensions?

	Less than 15	15-30	30-45	45-60	60-75	75-90	Over 90
U	48%	16%	10%	6%	8%	8%	4%
S	50%	16%	10%	10%	4%	4%	6%
R	39%	16%	8%	14%	9%	6%	8%

4. Are the students you suspend generally chronic discipline problems?

	Yes	No
U	94%	6%
S	95%	5%
R	96%	4%

5. How much administrative time is consumed by one suspension? (in terms of hours)

	Less than 1	2-3	4-5	6-7	More than 7
U	54%	43%	2%	1%	—
S	43%	48%	9%	—	—
R	37%	56%	5%	1%	1%

6. Have you ever been involved with more than ten suspensions resulting from one one incident of student unrest?

	Yes (specify)	No
U	17%	83%
S	8%	92%
R	5%	95%

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STUDENT DISCRIMINATION, DISPROPORTIONALITY AND THE LAW

David G. Carter, Sr.
Cynthia L. Jackson

Introduction

As early as 1968, James A. Kelly foresaw an education crisis in America's cities that has now reached staggering proportions. "Disillusioned citizens," he wrote, "slip slowly toward open rebellion against the established institutions of society—police, city government, the armed forces, and yes, perhaps even especially, schools and universities."[1]

Sadly, one specific aspect of the general problem, disruptive student behavior, now threatens the stability and, some would say, the very existence of our urban public schools. Though no one person or group can either be blamed for the present situation or be assigned to resolve it, administrative leadership could help reduce the external and internal problems this lack of discipline generates. Moreover, we need educational leadership that invites concerned persons of good will to focus their attention and talents on this growing problem.

Such a focus is all the more to be desired when one considers the disorganized, parochial pressure currently applied by parents, students, and educators concerned about violence, disruption and vandalism in the schools. In short, the current perception is that discruptive student behavior is out of control and that school authorities are at a loss to know what to do about it. Their anxiety is compounded by charges that when they do discipline students, they do it unfairly. More specifically, these school authorities are often accused of applying separate standards for Black students. In response to such accusations, the authorities have begun to press for clearly articulated disciplinary procedures and penalties for each rule violation.

The authors do not intend to judge school authorities; rather, we intend to determine whether minority students are in fact disproportionately disciplined. Before addressing the central question, however, we should provide some background on the problem of student disruption and its enforcement.

The Social Setting

It is understandable that this preoccupation with student disruption invites the educational community and the public at large to exchange accusations and to fix blame. Educators accuse parents of failing to support the school when children need discipline, and of being too permissive and lenient at home. Meanwhile, understandably, these educators find it difficult, themselves, to identify and develop techniques to help them reduce disruptive behavior.

Also, there is substantial disagreement over what differentiates discipline from punishment. The authors maintain that "discipline" helps an individual develop internal self-control and direction, while punishment relies on "external means" to control behavior.

The responsibility for preventing and controlling disruptive classroom behavior, note Francis and Elizabeth Ianni, "has always rested more heavily upon the school than on the community."[2] Historically, school personnel assumed responsibility for supervising students *in loco parentis*. As a result, school authorities instituted a variety of practices designed to reduce student disruption within the schools. Some of the more common include detention, suspension, expulsion, and corporal punishment.

Even while popular attention centers on both the positive and negative aspects of this discipline, increasing the issue is reaching the courts. In addition, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has sponsored research designed to determine whether disciplinary action in public schools has a disproportionate per capita impact on minority students as compared to non-minority students. In fact, between 21 and 25 "Special Student Concerns Projects" have been funded by the Office of Education over the last three years to address this question. If disproportionality exists, the Office hopes ultimately to formulate and recommend alternative strategies for reducing it.

Discipline, Enforcement and Discrimination

The American public, fond of simple answers to complex problems, has chosen once again to focus on the symptoms rather than to engage in any thoughtful action based on a well-defined empirical plan to address student disruption. Society believes "law and order" is the way to correct errant human behavior. Similarly, many educators believe that retribution is the answer, and many of them attempt to develop responsibility by dispensing excessive punishment. In fact, educators have traditionally employed external means in order to reduce or control student behavior problems, while they have given only limited attention to developing internal means for a student to direct or discipline himself.

This is not to say that disciplining students is unnecessary. The authors understand the pressures the public would exert if school officials decided to stop disciplining. As it is, the current discipline problems in the schools earn hostility for school administrators, and some of this hostility certainly reflects a failure among both educators and parents to provide suitable role models. Too often, adult behavior fails to match the adults' expectations of student behavior. Meanwhile, woodshed punishment fails to curb disruptive behavior in either the home or the school. Educators can begin re-educating society to the fact that responsibility develops when experience teaches students the logical consequences of their behavior.

Self-control, for example, comes from continuous example and experience. Therefore, educators must serve as appropriate models and must not expect students to acquire self-control overnight. We do not mean to imply that educators can no longer hold students accountable for their actions, or that they should no longer demand the best of their students. It does mean that maturity comes through a process that requires time, direction, and a great deal of patience.

> Relative to the effective use of discipline . . . within the school, the principal holds the key. It is the task of the school principal to structure an atmosphere within the school wherein methods and procedures of discipline are particularized.[3]

We can begin by considering whether detention, suspension, and expulsion help students and resolve discipline problems. This is an especially valid question since educators tend to impose these measures without carefully analyzing each situation. Unwanted results tend to appear when the "welfare" or the "rehabilitation" of the student is not the prime consideration and when each student's problem is not treated as deserving of a special behavior modification approach.

Opinions among educators vary about the practices used to reduce or control disruptive student behavior. Suspension, for example, is presently the topic of a controversy arising out of legal and moral concerns. The Supreme Court in *Goss v. Lopez*[4] provided hope for those bothered by the growing and sometimes flagrant use of suspension and expulsion as disciplinary measures. It is difficult to determine the effect this decision will have on the number of suspensions and expulsions, but before the *Goss* decision, a large number of students were suspended each year, which frequently led to situations far more serious than if they had been allowed to remain in school.[5]

Student Discipline and Disproportionality

As Yudof observes, "the use of statistical evidence, either with respect to the initial finding of a violation of law or the adoption of a remedy, is particularly problematic in the content of racial discrimination suits involving primary and secondary public schools."[6] Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence to support the claim that Black students have been disproportionately disciplined compared to their white counterparts. This educational burden comes on top of the lower scores on various standardized tests Black children normally receive. This academic and discipline pattern frequently results in Black children being placed on the lower track or in the lower ability groups. Couple this pattern with the traditionally inadequate education facilities Blacks as a group can expect, and one begins to wonder why Blacks ever aspire to an education at all.

Although we can find little information on the reasons for most suspensions, a study by the Children's Defense Fund shows that students are suspended most often for tardiness, unexcused absences, and fighting, usually with other students.[7] Contrary to what many educators believe, major acts of violence, the destruction of school property, assaults on teachers, and alcohol and drug related incidents account for only a small percentage of suspensions.

One of the Children's Defense Fund's more interesting findings concerns the numbers of suspensions that took place in the 1972-73 school year "in school districts with a little over half of the student population in this country." Minority students, the study revealed, were suspended much more than their counterparts.[8] For instance, over 50 percent of the students suspended in New York, Houston, Cleveland, Memphis, and Dallas were minority group members, though less than 40 percent of those districts' total enrollment was comprised of minority groups. During this time, there were approximately one million suspensions. School days missed amounted to

about 22,000 school years. Chicago, New York City, Philadelphia, Duval County (Jacksonville) Florida and Cleveland were the top five student suspension areas, and in these areas, a disproportionate number of Black students were suspended.

Table 1

	% Minority Enrollment	% Minority Suspensions
New York	64.4	85.9
Houston	56.4	71.0
Cleveland	59.9	70.8
Memphis	58.0	70.2
Dallas	49.4	68.5

OCR forms OS/CR-102's for Fall 1972 and Fall 1973 as submitted by local school districts.

To some, this finding might reflect disproportionate misbehavior among Black students. But the researchers found this not to be the case: The Black students, they decided, were just treated differently. A double standard appeared to operate for student suspensions.[9]

Table 2 contains data indicating that between 1976 and 1980 a surprisingly large number of public school students received suspensions. This table depicts statistics for the fifty top ranked districts for which significant overrepresentation of minorities suspended and expelled, aggregated by region. Districts were flagged as having an overrepresentation of minorities if the actual numbers of pupils suspended and expelled by race ethnicity deviated significantly from what would be expected if the manner in which pupils were suspended and expelled were independent of race. For nearly every region of the nation, the proportion of Black students suspended or expelled is two to three times greater than the proportion of white students suspended or expelled. The trend for Hispanics is less severe, only slightly exceeding the proportion of whites suspended or expelled in most regions.

Thus, the data indicates that minority students are two or three times as liable to be suspended as white students. This finding supports the Children's Defense Fund 1972-73 Study. The Children's Defense Fund found at the secondary school level that "Black students were suspended more than three times as often as white students: 12.8 percent compared with 4.1 percent."[10] Such a disproportion would normally cause outrage, but school officials and others, as we said, frequently attribute this disproportionality to the behavior of minority students rather than to factors inherent in the schools they supervise. Nor is it particularly unusual for minority students attending desegregated schools to experience more stringent enforcement of rules and regulations than their white counterparts.

> Discriminatory attitudes and habits once apparent in blatantly dual systems now simply reflect themselves in the so-called second generation desegregation problems involving discriminatory discipline, tracking, and special education placement.[11]

Recent findings in a study by Bennett and Harris in several cities desegregated recently, indicated that minority students, indeed, appear to be disciplined more than white students.[12]

Table 2

The Top Fifty Districts With An Over Representation
Of Minorities Suspended Or Expelled Aggregated By Region (1976)

Region	Total Enrollment	Total Suspended Or Expelled	Total Black Enrolled	Total Black Suspended Or Expelled	Total White Enrolled	Total White Suspended Or Expelled	Total Hispanic Enrolled	Total Hispanic Suspended or Expelled
Region #1	425,319	73,841	66,602	8,161	320,644	13,700	35,025	2,325
			16%	12%	75%	4%	8%	7%
Region #2	518,677	41,345	233,607	24,681	211,001	13,009	68,799	3,515
			45%	11%	41%	16%	13%	5%
Region #3	1,502,769	81,081	558,458	42,202	914,578	37,207	11,251	435
			37%	8%	61%	4%	1%	4%
Region #4	1,906,852	94,084	615,248	50,369	1,190,117	41,458	90,961	1,452
			32%	8%	62%	3%	5%	2%
Region #5	1,860,557	127,437	916,851	81,489	817,654	41,062	108,341	4,355
			49%	9%	44%	5%	6%	4%
Region #6	1,255,776	82,859	436,572	43,260	818,119	29,299	180,628	7,846
			35%	10%	49%	5%	14%	4%
Region #7	588,205	34,466	166,747	18,605	405,102	16,938	9,660	545
			28%	11%	69%	4%	2%	6%
Region #8	565,763	18,329	23,200	2,328	461,046	11,428	69,892	4,134
			4%	10%	81%	2%	12%	6%
Region #9	1,686,223	98,464	331,512	33,525	765,969	43,317	382,520	18,082
			20%	10%	45%	6%	21%	5%
Region #10	409,256	17,146	28,520	2,710	343,120	12,630	11,692	656
			7%	10%	84%	4%	3%	6%
NATION	10,719,397	671,052	3,377,317	307,331	6,047,351	260,048	948,769	43,345
			32%	9%	56%	4%	9%	5%

On September 16, 1980, the Metropolitan Human Relations Commission compiled a report entitled "An Analysis of Suspension and Enrollment Patterns Among Portland Public Schools."[13] This report contained data concerning student suspensions during the 1978-79 academic year in the Portland, Oregon area. The Commission found that although Black students comprised only 13.5 percent of the total enrollment, they accounted for 29.3 percent of all the suspensions. Compared to white students, Blacks were being suspended at a 2.55 to 1 ratio. The students had generally been suspended for the following kinds of reasons:

1. School attendance problems;
2. Behavior problems with other students;
3. Unacceptable individual behavior; and
4. Disrespect, harassment, or insubordination.

The Commission concluded that

1. Black students suspensions are in disproportion to Black student enrollment while the reverse is true for whites and other minorities;
2. Based on actual occurrences, the ratio of a Black student's probability of suspension compared to that of whites is 2.55 to 1; for other minorities, the ratio is 48 to 1; and
3. The suspension probability ratio of Black students to White students in K-8 schools is the highest for all school type/grade levels at 3.25 to 1. The high school ratio is the second highest at 2.75 to 1.[14]

Another study conducted by the South Carolina Human Affairs Commission presented data concerning student suspensions in three school districts between 1972 and 1975.[15] Here, too, the researchers found that Black students had been suspended out of all proportion to their numbers.

It is important to note, of course, that those students who are repeatedly suspended sometimes make the discipline problem appear greater than it is. The repeater increases the number of Black student suspensions, causing many to conclude that Black students are involved in more problems than one might expect.[16] Moreover, the fear of suspension (which is to say the force of the punishment) diminishes if a student has already been excluded from the classroom as a result of disruptive behavior.

The rationale given by some school administrators for suspending students is that a suspension "helps get the parents into the school." But the Children's Defense Fund survey found that 33 percent of the suspended students who were interviewed claimed that they returned in the re-entry process.[17] This finding coupled with the obvious fact that suspension rarely encourages students to control their behavior, forces one to ask whether suspension is an appropriate response to misbehavior. Not that educators should view any one response as the answer for all students. On the contrary, school officials must make every effort to help students learn to control their own behavior.

Conclusion

Disruptive behavior in the schools can be seen as one manifestation of the violence that characterizes American society generally. Indeed, crimes against persons and property have increased so rapidly over the last decade as to warrant national alarm. Social scientists and commentators point to a

variety of causes for this development: the erosion of respect for authority of all kinds, whether it be the family, the church, the government or the school; the glorification of war and violence in the media; the despair and desperation occasioned by the continuing problems of poverty and racism; and the growing preoccupation with self-interest at the expense of the common good.

Having said that disruption in schools is a part of the general social fabric, however, we are left with the central question: What can be done to ensure the safety and security our students and school staff deserve and that the educational process requires? Some contend that the schools, alone, cannot be expected to resolve the larger problems of alienation, discrimination, and economic dislocation, and that improved conditions in our schools must await the success of massive social and cultural reforms.

Others take the position that schools can be maintained as havens of order even amid general disorder if we lay down strict rules of behavior and adopt tough enforcement. The authors reject this approach. Too often, as one analyst has noted, it "leads to a self-defeating cycle, in which over-emphasis on rules, surveillance and punishment fans the flames of resentment and defiance, and so on."[18]

The educational system bears a dual responsibility when it comes to combating disruption in the schools. The immediate responsibility is to ensure the safety of students and staff. In addition, there is a larger responsibility to address the cause of this disruptive behavior. The former is an institutional responsibility and implies accountability; the latter is a shared responsibility and implies leadership.

If the process of education is slowed by disruptions, the destruction of property, and a general loss of control, prompt steps must be taken to remove these impediments.

However, an inherent weakness is that the schools can address only the symptoms of disruptive behavior. Dealing with symptoms is like taking aspirins for a toothache. The pain may temporarily ease, but its cause remains and the cycle will repeat itself. In the author's view, therefore, the control of disruptive behavior cannot be an ultimate objective. In fact, control strategies often replace the effects they attempt to prevent while they foster an authoritarian environment particularly unsuited to the education of students.

Thus, we call attention to a responsibility higher than addressing the more immediate concerns noted earlier. That responsibility addresses the causes of school disruption; thus, it strives to achieve the fundamental objective. The past decade has seen a wide variety of national, state, and local programs focusing upon the problem of youth crime and disruption, yet a "cure" has yet to materialize. We doubt that one will in the near future. There is, however, a methodology that, while not a panacea, can directly affect the fundamental problem of youth crime and disruption. That methodology centers on "prevention theory."

Gaining rapid acceptance in the medical and mental health fields, prevention theory has been applied with increasing success to juvenile violence and disruption. Prevention theory rests on the assumption that specific conditions nurture an environment conducive to disruptive behavior. If these conditions receive attention in a way that reduces their impact while positive alternatives appear in their place, constructive behavior should gradually supplant disruptive behavior.

What is so attractive about prevention theory is its affirmative approach to the problem of student disruption. While control and containment strategies represent short-term, tactical approaches to the problem, prevention makes possible a long-term, strategic response. When brought to bear upon those conditions that promote disruption, it reinforces positively those fundamental values and ideals that have traditionally supported personal growth and understanding and have helped to develop contributing members of society. The objectives of any recommendation should be to improve the school climate and reduce delinquency through the professional development of faculty and staff. Thus, the compatability of such a strategy as prevention theory with the basic educational mandate is clear.

The data discussed here clearly demonstrates that minority students are, in fact, disproportionately suspended. To suggest causes for this disproportion would, of course, be to engage in conjecture. But the data itself suggests that the disproportionate numbers of minority students subjected to the effects of school disciplinary systems may be attributed to

1. the differing interpretations of what consititutes acceptable behaviors and the differing expectations of school officials as to how these standards will be met by students from different race, sex and age groups;
2. the inconsistent application of school codes to different races, sexes, and age groups; and
3. the need to analyze the nature and effect of the disciplinary action and to appraise its suitability for the nature of the infraction.

If the disparity between the suspension of black and white students is to be reduced, the authors believe with William Genova that

1. school officials must re-evaluate district disciplinary policies and practices and formulate viable alternatives to suspension;
2. teachers, parents and students should all have some influence on the forumlation of discipline policies;
3. a survey of discipline records should be conducted to determine if rules are being consistently administered; and
4. school officials should develop accountability rules and procedures to determine if the rules are being interpreted properly and if discipline is being administered consistently.[19]

To address disproportionate suspensions of Black and other minority group students, school officials might also adopt the following procedure:

1. They might conduct analyses that help them identify specific problems and causal factors. (Such an analysis would identify who is being suspended, at what school, at what grade level, for what reasons, and the race of the suspended student. Such identification would show where and what remedies need to be applied.)
2. They might design and utilize disciplinary approaches that directly address these problems.
3. They might investigate the possibility of more direct student training and involvement in school discipline in the form of student coordinating committees, faculty study group and citizens task force.

4. Officials should seek the technical assistance of outside experts to develop and implement a disciplinary system that is equitable and, above all, nondiscriminatory.

In summary, while the authors have refrained from suggesting reasons for the difference between white and minority group suspension rates, our purpose here is to show that such a difference does, in fact, exist. For this reason, educators must carefully study the problem to determine the reasons for this disproportionate treatment.

Footnotes

[1]James A. Kelly, "A Point of View: City Schools and the Urban Coalition." Handout distributed at the Educational Leadership Seminar, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, 1968.

[2]Francis A.J. Ianni and Elizabeth Reuss-Ianni, "School Crime and the Social Order of the School," *IRCD* Bulletin, 14, Winter, 1979, p. 6.

[3]Michael Marvin, et al., *Planning Assistance Programs to Reduce School Violence and Disruption*. (Philadelphia: Research for Better Schools, 19_____), p. .

[4]95 S. Ct. 725 (1975).

[5]Children's Defense Fund, *School Suspension: Are They Handling Children?* A report prepared by the Children's Defense Fund of the Washington Research Project, Inc., Mass., 1975, p. 15

[6]Mark G. Yudof, "Suspension and Expulsion of Black Students From the Public Schools: Academic Capital Punishment and The Constitution," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 39, Spring, 1975, p. 377.

[7]*School Suspensions, op. cit.* p. 37

[8]*Ibid.*, p. 58.

[9]*Ibid.*, p. 13.

[10]Children's Defense Fund, Children Out of School in America, A report prepared by the Children's Defense Fund of Washington Research Project, Inc., Mass., 1974.

[11]*School Suspensions, op. cit.*, p. 14.

[12]Special Student Concerns Project, Co-Directed by Christine Bennett and J. John Harris, III, and Funded by USOE.

[13]Metropolitan Human Relations Commission, Utilizing Data Supplied by Portland Public School District, *Analysis of Suspensions and Enrollemtn Patterns* Among Portland Public Schools (Academic Year 1978-79).

[14]*Ibid.*, p. 6.

[15]The South Carolina Human Affairs Commission, *A Study of Student Suspensions in South Carolina*, June, 1976.

[16]*Ibid.*, p. 210A.

[17]*School Suspensions, op. cit.*, p. 16.

[18]William J. Genova, "School Discipline: Symptom or Problem?" Unpublished Paper, August 1979.

[19]*Ibid.*, p. 211-213.

Part II
Empirical Perspectives

A STUDY OF THE CAUSES OF DISPROPORTIONALITY IN SUSPENSIONS AND EXPULSIONS OF MALE AND BLACK STUDENTS*

PART ONE: *Characteristics of Disruptive and Non-Disruptive Students*

Christine Bennett
J. John Harris, III

The fact that disproportionate numbers of males and Blacks are being suspended and expelled from our schools has been well established (eg. Bickel, 1980; Moody, 1980). However, the reasons have not.

Are the causes of discipline problems rooted in the socio-emotional characteristics of disruptive students (eg. unstable home life)? In the character of certain schools? In teacher and administrator attitudes and beliefs? In some combination of these? Do the low disproportionality schools tolerate more "deviance" among Blacks and males? Do the formal and informal rules and how they are enforced differ among schools? Do students simply cause more trouble in some schools than in others?

One way of separating the student and institutional variables that may influence school discipline problems is to identify some characteristics of student "disrupters," as distinguished from student "non-disrupters." Another is to study the characteristics of "high" and "low" disproportionality schools and to identify factors which might explain the differences in school discipline disproportionality among Blacks and males.

This research project has studied both student characteristics and school characteristics. Our aim was to identify explanations of disproportionality among Black and male student "disrupters," and to identify promising school practices and conditions which help mediate the problem. Too voluminous to be presented in a single paper, the findings are reported in three papers which focus on student characteristics (Bennett and Harris, 1981), school characteristics (Bennett, 1981) and teacher and administrator attitudes and beliefs (Heid, 1981).

Our research was conducted in two large urban school corporations located in the midwest. Both corporations had previously been ranked among the country's one hundred most problematic school corporations concerning minorities and school discipline (HEW, 1976). Both corporations were concerned about the problem and agreed to participate in a study that would lead to programs designed to counter the problem of disproportionality in school discipline.

Each school corporation was treated as a totally separate research site, and all data were analyzed separately. However, the methodology and data collection techniques were nearly identical, and thus it was possible to examine the degree to which findings from the two separate school corporations would corroborate each other.

Our findings in the two different sites are, in fact, highly similar. The

characteristics of "serious disrupters", as well as teacher attitudes and beliefs, are virtually identical. And, while some differences were discovered between the highest race disproportionality school in each site, the lowest race disproportionality schools were alike on most of the variables studied.

I. Methodology and Data Source

A. *Overview*

The study was conducted with the full cooperation of the central administration and building principals in both school corporations. Two Project Facilitators, one based in each school corporation, joined the project staff. These individuals proved to be invaluable liaisons, and were able to gain the parental permissions which allowed the project staff to study student records in accordance with privacy regulations. They also provide access to statistics on school enrollments, student withdrawals, and student suspensions and expulsions. Data collection came from a variety of sources which include: taped interviews of students, parents, administrators, and teachers; student cumulative folders; school "discipline files;" paper-pencil questionnaires completed by students, teachers and administrators; and State Department statistics on enrollments, withdrawals, suspensions and expulsions, all broken down by school, sex and race.

The total number of high schools possible, five from one site and six from the other, participated in the study. All "serious disrupters," i.e. students who had been suspended three or more times and/or expelled from school, in each school corporation were identified (N = 322 and 362). Random samples of 100 and 100 students stratified by school, race, sex and grade level were selected from the population of "serious disrupters" in each district. Other random samples of 100 and 110 non-disrupters, again stratified by school, race and sex, were selected from the ninth, tenth and eleventh graders enrolled in each school. The family of each selected student was personally contacted for written permission to participate in the study. When permission was not obtained, another student was randomly selected.

A team of experienced interviewers was trained to conduct the interview using a common format. Interviewers and interviewees were matched by race. Pairs of interviewers visited each home to conduct the parent and student interviews simultaneously and in separate rooms. The students also completed a paper-pencil questionnaire (ppq). A total of 210 student interviews and 210 parent interviews were completed; the interviews were taped, and later coded and ranged from 30-60 minutes in length.

The remaining population of serious disrupters not interviewed was also studied. The following information was identified for all disrupters (N = 684) and recorded on Form A's whether or not they were interviewed: race, sex, GPA, grounds for suspension or expulsion, 8th grade reading and math achievement test scores, family structure and parent(s) occupation.

The student paper-pencil questionnaire (ppq) was also administered to a sample of 10-25% of the student population in each of the eleven high schools. Interviewees, the selected student "disrupters" and "non-disrupters," were not included in this sample.

Ten teachers and the top 3-4 administrators in each school were also interviewed. These administrators completed a pencil paper questionnaire as well. Finally, a randomly selected 20% of the teachers and students at each

school (excluding those interviewed) also were asked to complete a paper pencil questionnaire.

Four interview formats were developed for this study by the project staff: an administrator, teacher, parent and student format. Although the formats differed, a common core of questions on student discipline used in previous research was included in each format, as was a common core on school desegregation. Three pencil paper questionnaire formats (for students, teachers and administrators) were also developed; most of the items had been used in previous research on school discipline and/or school desegregation (Bickel, 1979; Forehand and Ragosta, 1976; and Bennett, 1980).

Forms A and B were developed by the project staff to record personal history data on disruptive and non-disruptive students respectively. The forms were completed by members of the project staff who consulted student records (ie. cumulative folders and discipline files).

B. *The Student Samples*

1. Characteristics of Serious Disrupters in Site A: Interview Sample

Based on individual school discipline records, a total of 322 high school students were identified as having been suspended three or more times and/or expelled from school during the 1979-80 school year. The personal records of each of these students were consulted and background information was gathered and recorded on Form A's. By far the most frequent grounds for charges brought against Black students were discretionary. Discretionary grounds include the following:

a. "Use of conduct which interferes with school purposes (violence, force, noise, coercion, etc.)." (Note: fighting, stealing, damaging property, and weapon possession were not included here.)

j. "Failure to comply with directions of teachers when judged to be interferring with school purposes," and

l. "Violation, or repeated violation, of school rules validly adopted." (Note: Fighting, stealing, damaging property, and weapon possession were *not* included here.)

The most frequent grounds for charges brought against White students were truancy, followed by discretionary and drugs. Stealing, fighting, and weapon possession were relatively infrequent grounds against any student, but all three were brought against Blacks more often than against Whites. On the other hand, drug charges and truancy were much more common charges for White than Black students (Bennett and Harris, 1981a).

The findings on curriculum must be viewed with caution since this information was not available in 75 of the 322 cases. However, most Black student disrupters were enrolled in a general or vocational curriculum. This pattern was also true for White student disrupters, although college prep and business programs also emerged. Only one student was enrolled in special education.

Overall, more than half of these students live with two parents, when the remarried parents are included. However, among Black student "disrupters" more than half live in homes with a divorced single parent.

Unfortunately, reading and math achievement test scores were not re-

corded for a large number of student "disrupters." Thus, the figures are only suggestive. Considering those students for whom the scores were available it is clear that a good number had scored below grade level on eighth grade achievement tests. This was markedly true among Black students, as compared with Whites, over half of whom scored at or above grade level on reading.

2. Characteristics of the Student Population Cross-Sections (PPQ Sample) in Sites A and B: PPQ Sample

In site A, the ppq sample (N = 727) may be characterized as college prep students who evaluate themselves as average to above average students with the ability to succeed in college. The vast majority of their parents have not attended a PTA meeting, most know a school adult who will help when they are in trouble, and the vast majority have never been in a fight at school. Approximately two-thirds live with both parents, take a newspaper at home, and have mothers with a high school or college education. The sample is predominantly White, with only 68 of the 727 students being Black. Only 85 of the sample reported one or more suspensions.

The student ppq sample (N = 1266) in Site B appears to be a truer representation of the total student population than in Site A. The Site B sample is characterized by students who are dispersed across all of the curriculum areas, and who see themselves as average to somewhat above average students with "probable" ability to succeed in college.

The sample is a good cross-section of the school community in terms of sex and race. Approximately 10% report having been in a fight "this year," and 20% have been suspended at least once. Thus, while the sample may not be totally random, neither is it "hand picked." As is true in Site A, most ppq students have parents who have not attended a PTA meeting, most have never been suspended or in a fight, and most receive a newspaper at home. School differences were noted within the student ppq samples on a number of selected student characteristics. Most of these differences were "school" based, rather than related to family conditions, and are discussed elsewhere (Bennett, 1981).

The focus of this paper is the characteristics of "serious disrupters," as compared with non-disrupters. Reported elsewhere in our study of characteristics which distinguished high and low disproportionality schools (Bennett, 1981). However, findings related to school differences and overall patterns of disproportionality will be highlighted here to provide a context for the discussion of the differences between student disrupters and nondisrupters.

II. Findings

A. Overview of Findings on Disproportionality in School Discipline

The GINI Index of Dissimilarity was used to examine the degree to which disproportionate numbers of male and/or Black students comprised the serious disrupter population. As used in this study's context, the GINI Index identifies the proportion of Black and male disrupters which would need to be redistributed among White and female disrupters in order to eliminate disproportionality. Tables 1a and 2a display the GINI indices for each of the five high schools in Site A, and Tables 1b and 2b display the indices for each school in Site B.

Table 1a

Race Disproportionality of "Serious Disrupter" in Site A by School GINI Index of Dissimilarity

		Disrupter		Non-Disrupter	Total
School 1	B	14		293	307
			.112		
	W	29		1,078	1,107
School 2	B	12		129	141
			.075		
	W	72		1,780	1,852
School 3	B	21		210	231
			.162		
	W	55		1,623	1,678
School 4	B	21		153	165
			.144		
	W	38		1,434	1,472
School 5	B	34		132	166
			.415		
	W	35		1,563	1,598

Table 1b

Race Disproportionality of "Serious Disrupter" in Site B by School GINI Index of Dissimilarity

School	GINI Index		Disrupter	Non Disrupter	Total
1	.242	B	9	241	250
		W	11	918	929
2	.237	B	6	123	129
		W	11	938	949
3	.298	B	13	316	329
		W	16	1780	1796
4	.193	B	17	175	192
		W	38	1326	1364
5	.036	B	46	320	366
		W	113	942	1055
6	.110	B	25	234	259
		W	57	965	1022

Table 2a

Sex Disproportionality of "Serious Disrupter" in Site A by School GINI Index of Dissimilarity

		Disrupter		Non-Disrupter	Total
School 1	Males	29		688	717
			.173		
	Females	14		683	697
School 2	Males	50		972	1,022
			.086		
	Females	34		937	971
School 3	Males	59		892	951
			.290		
	Females	17		941	958
School 4	Males	39		817	856
			.265		
	Females	11		770	781
School 5	Males	51		880	931
			.220		
	Females	18		815	833

Table 2b

Sex Disproportionality of "Serious Disrupters" in Site B by School GINI Index of Dissimilarity

School	GINI Index		Disrupter	Non Disrupter	Total
1	.242	M	11	609	620
		F	9	550	559
2	.115	M	7	559	566
		F	10	502	512
3	.271	M	23	1094	1117
		F	6	1002	1008
4	.172	M	38	774	812
		F	17	717	734
5	.134	M	100	624	724
		F	59	638	697
6	.225	M	58	650	658
		F	22	601	623

These findings show a disproportionately high number of Black and male "serious disrupters" in each of the eleven high schools. However, there are striking differences in the degree of disproportionality within the different schools, particularly with regard to Black students.

For Site A, Table 1a identifies School Five as having the highest level of race disproportionality and School Two the lowest. The number of Black and White "disrupters" in School Five is almost equal, even though Black students comprise only 1/12 of the total student population. The GINI Index for School Five is .415, meaning that in order to eliminate racial disproportionality, nearly half of the Black serious disrupters would need to be White. In School Two the GINI Index is much lower (.075) indicating that approximately 7½ percent of the Black disrupters would need to be White in order to eliminate racial disproportionality. School One has the second lowest GINI Index (.112), and Schools Three and Four are fairly similar with GINI indices of .162 and .144 respectively.

Table 2a shows that males are also over-represented among the "serious disrupters". In no other school is the level of disproportionality among males as high as it is among Blacks in School Five. However, except for School Five the disproportionality level for males in all schools is higher than for Blacks, particularly in Schools Three and Four. School Two again emerges as the school with the lowest level of disproportionality.

The findings for Site B also show a disproportionately high number of Black and male "serious disrupters" in each of the six high schools. However, there are again clear differences in the degree of disproportionality within the different schools. Table 1b identifies Schools One, Two and Three as having relatively high levels of race disproportionality, with School Three being highest. School Five reflects a strikingly low level of disproportionality. (However, for the school corporation as a whole, this school also has the highest number of "serious disrupters" for both Black and White students. There are over three times as many Black disrupters and seven times as many White disrupters in School Five as compared with School Three which is most comparable in size.) The number of Black and White "disrupters" in Schools One and Three is almost equal, even though Black students comprise only about one-fifth and one-sixth of the respective total school populations. The GINI Index for School Three is .298, meaning that in order to eliminate racial disproportionality nearly a third of the Black serious disrupters would need to be White. In Schools One and Two, approximately one quarter of the Black "serious disrupters" would need to be White in order to eliminate racial disproportionality. In School Five the GINI Index is much lower (.036) indicating that approximately 3½ percent of the Black disrupters would need to be White in order to eliminate racial disproportionality. School Six has the second lowest GINI Index (.110) and School Four the third lowest (.193).

Table 2b shows that males are also over-represented among the "serious disrupters" in Site B. However, the degree of sex disproportionality is lower than that of race disproportionality in each school except Schools Five and Six. School One shows the lowest level of sex disproportionality with a GINI Index of .025, and School Three is again the highest with an Index of .271.

As schools work harder to retain students who might otherwise drop out at age sixteen, they may also be increasing their number of "discipline problems." Ironically, those schools which do the least for problem students

may experience fewer discipline problems because potential disrupters drop out. Thus one possible explanation for the striking school differences in race and sex disproportionality among "disrupters" is that levels of student withdrawals may be highest in schools where disproportionality among disrupters is lowest. Possibly, in some schools more students drop out prior to being suspended or expelled than in other schools. However, our findings did not support this conclusion. Patterns of school and student race/sex differences in student withdrawal were mirror images of the student "disruptions" (Bennett, 1981).

B. Comparisons Between Never Suspended Students, Once+ Suspended Students, Non-Disrupters and "Serious Disrupters" on Selected PPQ Variables

1. The Self Indices: Fatalism, Dislike School, and Fair Punishment

All of the ppq items with a personal or self focus were factor analyzed. Three factors emerged and were used as separate indicators.

a. *Fatalism Index*

Ten items were found to comprise the Fatalism Index. These same items have been used extensively in other research to measure locus of control or the degree to which an individual believes s/he has control over his or her destiny, and are the following:

When bad things are going to happen, they just are going to happen no matter what you try to do to stop them.

1. agree
2. disagree

On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

1. agree
2. disagree

Good luck is just as important for success as hard work is.

1. agree
2. disagree

I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

1. agree
2. disagree

Some kids are just naturally lucky.

1. agree
2. disagree

I feel like I don't really belong in this school.

1. agree
2. disagree

When I make plans, I am almost sure I can make them work.

1. agree
2. disagree

Most people are better off than I am.

1. agree
2. disagree

Most of the time it doesn't pay to try hard because things never turn out right anyway.

1. agree
2. disagree

Everything considered are you happy, pretty happy, or not too happy these days?

1. very happy
2. pretty happy
3. not too happy

These items were scored such that a high score indicated a high degree of "fatalism," or a feeling of lack of personal control over the environment.

In both sites, a striking difference emerged when never suspended students were compared with students suspended one or more times (Insert Tables 3a and 3b). Students who had been suspended only one or two times revealed higher levels of fatalism than the students who had never been suspended. However, there also emerged a trend showing lowest levels of fatalism among the students who had been suspended most frequently. This trend was supported by the study of "serious disrupters" and non-disrupters. As shown in Tables 4a and 4b, the interviewed "serious disrupters" scored significantly lower on Fatalism than did their interviewed non-disruptive classmates.

These findings suggest that the schools "serious disrupters" have allower sense of fatalism, and thus a higher sense of personal efficacy than do "non-disrupters."

b. *Dislike School Index*

The five following ppq items emerged as one factor which was labeled as a DISLIKE SCHOOL Index.

81. Do you like the principal of this school?
    1. yes
    2. no
    3. I don't know

82. Do you think you will go to college?
    1. yes
    2. no

83. In the morning, are you usually glad to go to school?
    1. yes
    2. no

88. Do you hate school?
    1. yes
    2. no

87. Do you usually hate school?
    1. yes
    2. no

These items were scored such that a high score meant dislike of principal, no college plans, not glad to attend school, hate and usually hate school.

Significant differences were discovered on the DISLIKE SCHOOL Index between never and once+ suspended students in both sites. As shown in Tables 5a and 5b the never-suspended students scored higher on the Dislike School Index than once+ suspended students. Comparisons between the interviewed serious disrupters and non-disrupters further substantiate these findings; the "serious" disrupters score lower on dislike school (see Tables 6a and 6b). These findings suggest that the school "trouble-makers" studied are more positive about school than their never-suspended classmates.

c. *Unfair Punishment Index*

The following two items formed a separate factor and were labeled the Unfair Punishment Index:

84. When you get punished at school, does it usually seem it's for no good reason at all?
    1. yes
    2. no
    3. I have never been punished

85. Compared to other students you know, do you feel you get punished fairly?
    1. yes
    2. no
    3. I haven't been punished at school

The higher the score the higher the feeling that punishment occurs for no good reason and is unfair in comparison with classmates.

When never suspended students are compared with once+ suspended students the differences are significant. And as in the case of Dislike School, the never suspended student's score higher than the once+ suspended. In both Sites A and B, more never suspended students tend to believe school punishment is unfair than do their classmates who have been suspended one or more times. (See Tables 7a and 7b) Comparisons of the non and serious disrupters interviewed again corroborates findings based on the ppq sample. The disrupters scored lower on Unfair Punishment (See Tables 8a and 8b).

It appears from the three "Self Indices" that the school's worst trouble makers have stronger feelings of personal efficacy than do their high achieving, scholastically successful classmates. Furthermore, they score lower on Hate School and higher on Fair Punishment than their never suspended classmates.

A conclusion that the school's most successful students have a low sense of personal efficacy, hate school, and see the school as treating students unfairly does not seem warranted. While the achievers and conformers may not be as positive about school as many educators assume, they obviously have decided to achieve and conform and feel enough efficacy to do so. What is most important here, is the finding that many of the schools' worst troublemakers feel positive about school and value education. Furthermore, they appear to have a strong sense of personal efficacy.

2. *The Power Indices: Institutional Power and Grassroots Power*

Eight ppq items which dealt with how much influence the student felt different groups of persons have in his or her school were factor analyzed

(Items 91-99 on the ppq). Two factors emerged: Institutional Power and Grassroots Power. Institutional Power represents the influence of the school board, superintendent and principal. Grassroots Power represents the influence of the self, students and parents. No factor emerged to represent teachers and assistant principals, whose influence seemed to rest somewhere between the two other groups.

Highly significant differences on Institutional Power emerged between never and once+ suspended students in both Sites. Never suspended students tend to perceive the School Board, Superintendent and Principal as having more school influence than do students who have been suspended one or more times. (See Tables 9a and 9b)

Comparisons between never and once+ suspended students on Grassroots Power show highly significant differences in Site A.* Students who have never been suspended perceive much more school influence for themselves, other students and parents than do students who have been suspended. Thus, their perceptions of strong institutional power is not at the expense of their own sense of efficacy. Once+ suspended students perceive low levels of both institutional and personal influence in their school.

Findings on the two Power Indices among the interview samples from both Sites strongly corrobate the larger sample findings. As shown in Tables 10a and 11a and 10b and 11b, non-disrupters score higher than "serious disrupters" on Institutional Power and on Grassroots Power. This supports the data from the larger ppq sample where never suspended students scored higher than once+ suspended students on both power indices. Therefore, although "serious disrupters" have a strong sense of personal efficacy (ie. lowest on Fatalism), concerning the school environment they perceive very little influence from themselves, other students, and parents. They also perceive very little influence coming from the superintendent, school board, and their principal.

3. *Positive School Climate Index*

Questions 12-25 on the ppq comprised a single factor which was labeled the School Climate Index (Bickel, 1980). These items were scored so that the higher an index score is, the more positive are feelings about school climate. Significant differences were found between the never and once+ suspended students in each Site.

Tables 13a and 13b show that never suspended students were *less* positive about their school than were the once+ suspended students.

The interview samples in Site A did not yield significant differences between "disrupters" and "non-disrupters" on Positive School Climate. However, as shown in Table 14b, "serious disrupters" in Site B scored significantly higher on Positive School Climate than did non-disrupters. Overall, it appears that the once+ suspended students and the "serious disrupters" in this study tend to feel more positive about their school climate than do never-suspended students.

4. *The School Desegregation Indices: Interracial Environment, Interracial Friendship and White Predominance*

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*There is a non-significant trend in Site B to support this finding.

Questions 26-63 on the ppq dealt with school desegregation. These items were factor analyzed and yielded three factors: Interracial Environment, Interracial Friendship, and White Predominance.

a. *Interracial Environment*

The following items comprised the Interracial Environment Index:

32. If you could choose the kind of school you would go to, would you pick one with
    1. all white students
    2. all black students
    3. a mixture of different kinds of students

33. Do you think your friends would think badly of you if you went someplace after school with a student of a different race?
    1. yes
    2. no

57. How uncomfortable do you feel around students of a different race?
    1. generally very uncomfortable
    2. generally somewhat uncomfortable
    3. occasionally somewhat uncomfortable
    4. not at all uncomfortable

58. Are the student government officers in this school all of the same racial group, or are they from different groups?
    1. all of the same racial group
    2. different groups

59. Are the cheerleaders in your school of the same racial group, or are they from different groups?
    1. all of the same racial group
    2. different groups

60. How often do you have class discussions about race relations?
    1. about once a week or more often
    2. about once a month
    3. every few months
    4. no such discussions so far

61. In general, do you think that white people are smarter than black people, that black people are smarter than white people, or do you think that a person's color doesn't have anything to do with how smart he is?
    1. white people are smarter
    2. black people are smarter
    3. color doesn't have anything to do with smartness

62. The way things are going between blacks and whites in this school, do you think things will be better or worse next year?
    1. better
    2. same
    3. worse

These items were scored so that more points were given for choices indicating support for interracial interaction. The index was believed to measure the student's and the school's support for an interracial school environment.

Significant school differences as well as race/sex differences were discovered on the Interracial Environment Index. These are discussed elsewhere (Bennett, 1981). However, no significant differences were noted between either never and once† suspended students or between non-disrupters and serious disrupters.

b. *Interracial Friendship*

The Index of Interracial Friendship differs from the Interracial Environment Index in that it measures interracial relations of a more personal nature such as phone conversations, seeking help on homework, and the desire for friends of a different race. The factor which was converted into this index consists of four items:

29. Have you ever called a student of a different race on the phone?
    1. yes
    2. no

30. This school year, have you helped a student from another race with school work?
    1. yes
    2. no

31. This school year, have you asked a student from another race to help you with your homework?
    1. yes
    2. no

34. Would you like to have more friends who are of a different race?
    1. yes
    2. no

These were scored so that a high score indicated interracial mix.

The Interracial Friendship Index produced significant differences between the never and once† suspended students. Tables 15a and 15b reveal the lowest score for never suspended students, and higher scores among students suspended one, two, three and six† times in Site A and among students suspended one, two, three, four and six† times in Site B. Thus it appears that there is more interracial mixing on a personal level among students who have been suspended one or more times than among students who have never been suspended.

c. *The White Predominance Index*

The White Predominance Index, believed to top orientations of racism, yield significant sex/race group differences and significant school differences. These differences as well as the items are discussed elsewhere (Bennett, 1981). No differences were noted on this measure between never and once† suspended students. However significant differences between non-disrupters and serious disrupters were discovered in Site B (see Table 16b), where disrupters scored significantly lower on the White Predominance Index.

Overall, findings on the school desegregation measures used in this study show more positive interracial attitudes and behaviors among serious disrupters than among non-disrupters.

III. Conclusions

What can we conclude from this study about the causes of disproportionality among Black and male "serious disrupters?" Causation is difficult to prove on any cross-sectional study, but our findings do warrant a number of conclusions. The answer is somewhat different for male student disrupters in general, and the Black student disrupters.

First, while there is always an interaction between the home and school environments, we cannot place the "blame" at the students' doorstep. The serious disrupters in both Site A and Site B come to school with a strikingly high sense of personal efficacy. In addition to a strong sense of personal efficacy, the serious disrupters come with positive feelings about school, and when they do get into trouble they tend to feel their punishment has been reasonable and fair. What they lack is a sense of personal efficacy concerning the school. In fact, among the disruptive students no person or group (i.e. superintendent, principal or school board) emerges as having much influence at school. This overall sense of power vaccuum in the school is significant. The contrast in feelings of personal and school efficacy may help explain the disproportionate numbers of males who are suspended and expelled from schools.

Although recent social events are no doubt increasing female's sense of personal efficacy, there is a good deal of evidence which shows that at least until recently, females in our society tend to have a lower sense of efficacy than males. Thus, it is possible that males have higher self expectations for school success and activity and therefore feel greater frustration with failure in school. Conflicting levels of personal and school efficacy may result in more "disturbance," or "acting out."

Since the sample of female disrupters is so small, comparisons of the levels of personal efficacy between the male and female disrupters studied are not possible. But judging from previous research (e.g. Bennett, 1972), females' levels of personal efficacy are probably lower than their male classmates. Thus they may have lower expectations for school success and feel less frustrated by school failure.

Our findings on the characteristics of disrupters and non-disrupters apply to both Black and White students. In fact, with the exception of White males' scores on White Predominance, Interracial Friendship and Interracial Environment, no significant differences emerge by race on any of the ppq indices, although there was a trend showing Black males and Black females to be highest on unfair punishment. Thus student status as a disrupter or non-disrupter is a more salient factor in this study than is the variable of race.

Our findings suggest that school programs designed to help "disruptive students" should build feelings of school efficacy. Programs should use decision-making strategies and other activities designed to "give kids a stake in the school." There is evidence to support the position that schools can increase student's feelings of efficacy in relatively brief periods of time (e.g. Ehman, 1970; Glasser, 1976; Bennett, 1972). Other research (e.g. Forehand

and Rogosta, 1976) indicates that the most effective approach would be one which carries strong institutional support in cooperation with student and parent involvement and real influence. Such programs may be especially important for males, and should begin early in the elementary school.

The exact causes of disproportionality among Black students are difficult to establish. However, our broader findings show that these causes are related to an overall orientation of White predominance which includes institutional and individual racism. Sources of racism are difficult to pinpoint because they originate in a social context beyond the school, but this does not relieve the school from taking action to mediate racism.

Black parent and Black student perceptions that some teachers and administrators are racist are borne out by the results of the anonymous Tppq (Bennett and Harris, 1981). Many of the teachers would not live in a desegregated neighborhood, did not favor mandatory school desegregation, felt the civil rights movement had done more harm than good, and felt that the problems of prejudice were exaggerated. One third believed that Blacks and Whites should not be allowed to intermarry. Furthermore, the majority of the teachers perceived their White students to be superior intellectually and socially, and in other characteristics related to school achievement. Given what we know about the power of teacher expectations, the picture is grim for many Black students. Added to the racist orientation of many teachers, is the "White predominance" orientation among students who completed the ppq, particularly White male students.

Reported in Part II of this paper, our findings concerning the descriptions of "high" and "low" disproportionality schools (Bennett, 1981), support acertains made by other researchers (e.g. Bickel, 1980, Moody, 1978) that the schools themselves are in some measure responsible for race disproportionality in student discipline. Considering that a majority of the Black students studied live in the same neighborhood and that the males and females come from comparable neighborhoods, we must wonder why higher proportions of Black and male students are suspended and expelled in some schools than in others. When we find, as was the case in this study, that in the schools showing the highest levels of race and sex disproportionality students score highest on Dislike School, highest on Unfair Punishment, lowest on Administrator Support of School Desegregation, lowest on Interracial Environment, and highest on White Predominance, we realize that there are school conditions which make school discipline problems worse, or better.

Previous studies have shown that an open and strong commitment to "good race relations" and "academic achievement" on the part of administrators is needed for an effectively integrated school and equitable student discipline (Forehand and Rogosta). A large portion of the teachers in this study reported that they did not know how their superintendent felt about school desegregation, and a majority perceived that the White, but not Black, teachers in their school were opposed to school desegregation (Heid, 1981). Furthermore, in spite of extensive inservice efforts in both school corporations, very few teachers reported any inservice related to teaching in desegregated settings (i.e. less than 10%).

The fact that each school corporation was a willing participant in this study strongly attests to a genuine concern and commitment to equitable student discipline and effective school integration. This commitment must be

translated into strategies which impact certain teachers' attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors if equitable school discipline is to be achieved. These strategies should involve teachers who already share a commitment to equitable school discipline and effective integration.

Our conclusions do place the burden of action on the school. No doubt other factors not part of the school and not studied on this research help explain why disproportionate numbers of males and Blacks are disciplined in Sites A and B. What should make us feel optimistic about this research, as well as the conclusions of other research (e.g. Weinberg) is that schools *can* make a difference in spite of broader social factors.

Table 3a

Fatalism Index Broken Down by Never or Once† Suspended

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Suspension			
Never	6.8710	1.8547	(566)
Once	7.4211	5.0778	(57)
Twice	7.9231	8.4800	(13)
Thrice	6.7500	.9574	(4)
Four Times	7.0000	1.0000	(3)
Six Times or More	5.667	.5774	(3)
Total	6.9583	2.6337	(648)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df	MS
Between Groups	232.0557	(7)	33.1508
Within Groups	4255.8193	(640)	6.6497
Total	4487.8750	(647)	

F = 4.9853 SIG. = .0000

Table 3b

Analysis of Variance
Fatalism Index by Never or Once† Suspended

Times Suspended	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
1. Never	6.8444	1.4703	(1054)
2. Once	6.9421	2.6561	(121)
3. Twice	8.3810	6.2311	(42)
4. Thrice	7.2353	3.4375	(17)
5. Four Times	6.0000	1.4142	(7)
6. Five Times	6.1667	1.1690	(6)
7. Six Times or More	7.3125	2.6260	(19)
Total	6.9068	2.0167	(1266)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	110.0235	(7)
Within Groups	5034.9781	(1258)
Total	5145.0016	(1265)

F = 3.9271 SIG. = .0003

Table 4a

Scores on Fatalism Index by Disruptive and Non-Disruptive Student: Analysis of Variance

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Serious Disrupter	5.9231	2.4962	39
Non-Disrupter	6.9348	1.3565	46
Total	6.4706		85

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	21.6029	1
Within Groups	319.5736	83

F = 5.6107 SIG. = .0202

Table 4b

Mean Scores on Fatalism Index by Disruptive and Non-Disruptive Students in Site B: Analysis of Variance

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Serious Disrupter	6.1455	1.0438	55
Non-Disrupter	7.0500	1.0156	60
Total	6.6174	1.1206	115

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	23.4789	1
Within Groups	119.6864	113

F = 22.1672 SIG. = .0000

Table 5a

Dislike School Index Broken Down by Never or Once† Suspended

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Suspension			
Never	6.8142	1.4226	(565)
Once	6.7193	2.5618	(57)
Twice	6.5333	1.6847	(15)
Thrice	5.7500	.9574	(4)
Four Times	7.6667	.5774	(3)
Six Times or More	5.6667	1.5275	(3)
Total	6.8336	1.9341	(648)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df	MS
Between Groups	867.2156	(7)	123.8879
Within Groups	1556.8122	(641)	2.4287
Total	2424.0277	(648)	

F = 51.0095 SIG. = 0

Table 5b

Analysis of Variance
Dislike School Index by Never and Once† Suspended

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Times Suspended			
1. Never	7.3692	1.3616	(1051)
2. Once	6.9250	1.3483	(120)
3. Twice	7.3902	4.0428	(41)
4. Thrice	6.3529	1.4552	(17)
5. Four Times	9.2857	8.4205	(7)
6. Five Times	6.8333	1.1690	(6)
7. Six Times or More	5.7778	1.5168	(18)
Total	7.3009	1.6495	(1263)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	109.5714	(7)
Within Groups	3324.0976	(1255)
Total	3433.6690	(1262)

F = 5.9097 SIG. = .0000

Table 6a

Scores on Dislike School Index by Disrupter and Non-Disrupter: Analysis of Variance

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Serious Disrupter	5.6842	2.2673	38
Non-Disrupter	7.1875	1.3630	48
Total	6.5233		86

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	47.9305	1
Within Groups	277.5230	84

F = 14.5075 SIG. = .0003

Table 6b

Mean Scores on Dislike School Index by Disrupter and Non-Disrupter in Site B: Analysis of Variance

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Serious Disrupter	6.9821	1.3816	56
Non-Disrupter	7.7705	.8040	61
Total			

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	18.1455	1
Within Groups	143.7690	115

F = 14.5145 SIG. = .0002

Table 7a
Unfair Punishment Index Broken Down By Never and Once† Suspended

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Suspension			
Never	4.6719	1.6005	(577)
Once	3.5593	1.0711	(59)
Twice	4.0625	2.3514	(16)
Thrice	3.2500	.5000	(4)
Four Times	2.6667	.5774	(3)
Six Times or More	6.0000	5.1962	(3)
Total	4.5641	1.7185	(663)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS		df	MS
Between Groups	277.1447	(	7)	39.5921
Within Groups	1677.8809	(	655)	2.5617
Total	1955.0256	(	662)	

F = 15.4557 SIG. = 0

Table 7b

Unfair Punishment Index By Never and Once† Suspended

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Times Suspended			
1. Never	4.7343	1.4848	(1057)
2. Once	3.5410	1.3432	(122)
3. Twice	4.2619	3.0288	(42)
4. Thrice	3.2353	2.1074	(17)
5. Four Times	5.1429	5.7570	(7)
6. Five Times	5.3333	2.8048	(6)
7. Six Times or More	3.4444	.7838	(18)
Total	4.5713	1.6525	(1269)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS		df
Between Groups	221.0713	(	7)
Within Groups	3241.7246	(	1261)
Total	3462.7959	(	1268)

F = 12.2849 SIG. = .0000

Table 8a

Scores of Unfair Punishment Index by Serious Disrupter and Non-Disrupter: Analysis of Variance

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Serious Disrupter	2.8974	1.3726	39
Non-Disrupter	4.6667	1.6927	48
Total	3.8736		87

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	67.3528	1
Within Groups	206.2564	85

F = 27.7566 SIG. = .0000

Table 9a
Institutional Power Index Broken Down By Never and Once† Suspended

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Suspension			
Never	9.3726	3.2545	(642)
Once	8.1356	3.7021	(59)
Twice	6.5625	1.8246	(16)
Thrice	10.2500	3.2016	(4)
Four Times	9.6667	4.1633	(3)
Six Times or More	6.6667	3.2146	(3)
Total			(727)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	2,350.4216	(7)
Within Groups	8,304.5578	(726)

F = 29.0710 SIG. = 0

Table 10a

Scores on the Institutional Power Index by Disrupter and Non-Disrupter: Analysis of Variance

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Serious Disrupter	6.7143	3.9834	42
Non-Disrupter	9.6875	3.1834	48
Total	8.3000		90

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	198.0161	1
Within Groups	1,126.8839	88

F = 15.4634 SIG. = .0002

Table 10b
Mean Scores on the Institutional Power Index by Disrupter and Non-Disrupter in Site B: Analysis of Variance

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Disrupter	7.1803	3.5614	61
Non-Disrupter	9.7742	3.2463	62
Total	8.4878	3.6336	123

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	206.8766	1
Within Groups	1403.8551	121
Total	1610.7317	122

F = 17.8309 SIG. = .0000

Table 11a

Grassroots Power Broken Down By Never and Once† Suspended

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Suspension			
Never	7.2080	3.0633	(642)
Once	6.6441	3.1773	(59)
Twice	6.8750	3.9812	(16)
Thrice	5.0000	1.6330	(4)
Four Times	9.0000	2.6458	(3)
Six Times or More	6.3333	2.0817	(3)
Total	6.7950	3.5033	(727)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	1,504.0393	(7)
Within Groups	7,406.4229	(719)

F = 20.8584 SIG. = 0

Table 12a

Scores on Grassroots Power by Disrupter and Non-Disrupter: Analysis of Variance

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Disrupter	6.3571	3.6212	42
Non-Disrupter	7.9583	3.1955	48
Total	7.2111		90

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	57.4294	1
Within Groups	1,017.5595	88

F = 4.9666 SIG. = .0284

Table 12b

Mean Scores on Grassroots Power by Disrupter and Non-Disrupter in Site B: Analysis of Variance

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Serious Disrupter	6.0984	3.2798	61
Non-Disrupter	7.5161	3.1557	62
Total	6.8130	3.2827	123

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	61.8055	1
Within Groups	1252.8937	121
Total	1314.6992	122

F = 5.9690 SIG. = .0160

Table 13a

Positive School Climate Index Broken Down By Never and Once† Suspended

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Suspension			
Never	37.4171	9.3263	(562)
Once	41.3929	9.6402	(56)
Twice	40.8750	8.9954	(16)
Thrice	44.7500	9.7767	(4)
Four Times	37.0000	3.6056	(3)
Six Times or More	57.3333	4.5092	(3)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	2,613.8185	(7)
Within Groups	55,386.9195	(637)

F = 4.2945 SIG. = .0001

Table 13b

Positive School Climate By Never and Once† Suspended

Times Suspended	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
1. Never	34.9815	9.2920	1030
2. Once	38.8655	9.3482	119
3. Twice	41.0244	9.4432	41
4. Thrice	41.0625	9.2410	16
5. Four Times	44.7143	13.8770	7
6. Five Times	41.2500	6.0759	4
7. Six Times or More	46.8235	10.2117	17
Total	35.8744	9.5726	1234

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	6104.4713	7
Within Groups	.106E+06	1226
Total	.112E+06	1233

F = 10.0032 SIG. = .0000

Table 14b

Scores on Positive School Climate Index by Disrupter and Non-Disrupter in Site B: Analysis of Variance

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Serious Disrupter	36.5738	13.5259	61
Non-Disrupter	31.6290	9.0431	62
Total	34.0813	11.7058	123

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	751.8012	1
Within Groups	15,965.3858	121

F = 5.6978 SIG. = .0185

Table 15a

Scores on Interracial Friendship Index by Never and Once† Suspended: Analysis of Variance

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Never suspended	6.3794	2.1244	564
Suspended once	9.1525	4.3502	59
Suspended twice	9.3750	6.6420	16
Suspended thrice	6.7500	.9574	4
Suspended four times	6.0000	0	3
Suspended six† times	8.0000	0	3
Total	6.5300		649

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	173.2374	7
Within Groups	4,302.9285	

F = 3.6982 SIG. = .0006

Table 15b

Scores on Interracial Friendship Index by Never and Once† Suspended: Analysis of Variance

Times Suspended	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
1. Never	6.4202	2.2049	1043
2. Once	7.0492	3.5972	122
3. Twice	7.1905	3.5834	42
4. Thrice	6.7647	3.0929	17
5. Four Times	12.7143	11.6578	7
6. Five times	6.1667	1.3292	6
7. Six times or more	6.8235	1.1851	17
Total	6.5494	2.6022	1254

Table 16b

Mean Scores on White Predominance Index by Disrupter and Non-Disrupter in Site B: Analysis of Variance

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
Disrupter	39.4364	4.9245	55
Non-Disrupter	42.0333	4.0879	60
Total	40.7913	4.6726	115

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	193.5307	1
Within Groups	2295.4606	113
Total	2488.9913	114

F = 9.5271 SIG. = .0025

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A STUDY OF THE CAUSES OF DISPROPORTIONALITY IN SUSPENSIONS AND EXPULSIONS OF MALE AND BLACK STUDENTS*

PART TWO: *Characteristics of High and Low Disproportionality Schools*

Christine Bennett

As stated in the aforementioned chapter, when schools work harder to retain students who might otherwise drop out at age sixteen, they may also be increasing their number of "discipline problems." Ironically, those schools which do the least for problem students may experience fewer discipline problems because potential disrupters drop out. Thus one possible explanation for the striking school differences in race and sex disproportionality among "disrupters" is that levels of student withdrawals may be highest in schools where disproportionality among disrupters is lowest. Possibly, in some schools more students drop out prior to being suspended or expelled than in other schools.

The State Department figures on student withdrawals (broken down by race only) for the 1978-79 school year do not support this conclusion. In fact, as shown in Tables 3a-4b, the student withdrawal figures are largely consistent with the figures on frequent suspension and expulsion.

For the corporation in Site A as a whole, a disproportionately high number of Black students withdraw from school. There are again differences between schools, with Schools 1 and 2 again having the lowest level of disproportionality. School 5, the school with the highest level of racial disproportionality among student disrupters, had the second highest level of disproportionality in Black student withdrawals. School 4, with a relatively low GINI Index for Race of .144, has the highest level of disproportionality among Black student withdrawals. This suggests that, at least for School 4, the high level of withdrawals among Black students may explain their relatively low representation among "serious disrupters". The opposite may be true for School 1, where the percent of Black student withdrawal is 2.9% *less* than what could be expected based on their proportion of the student population.

Given the fact that 70-80% of the Black students in Site A come from the same neighborhood, School Two's low levels of disproportionality among Black student disruptions and withdrawals seems significant. Perhaps there are lessons to be learned here.

An analysis of student withdrawals in Site B shows that there is less race and sex disproportionality among "drop outs" than among "serious disrupters" in all six high schools, with the slight exception of male disrupters in School Five.

Table 3b

Race Disproportionality in Student Withdrawals
GINI Index and Total B & W Withdrawals by Race and Sex for
1979-80 School Year, Site B

	Black				White				
	Tot E	OW	OW	Tot W	Tot E	OW	OW	Tot W	GINI Index
School									
1	250	19	23	42	929	60	46	106	.086
2	129	27	22	49	949	94	56	150	.155
3	329	17	14	31	1796	97	56	153	.015
4	192	14	9	23	1364	45	25	70	.132
5	366	30	38	68	1055	137	53	190	.007
6	259	5	15	20	1022	51	37	88	.019
Totals				233				757	

Table 4b

Sex Disproportionality in Student Withdrawals
GINI Index and Total Enrollments and Number of Withdrawals
by Sex for 1979-80 School Year Site B

	Male				Female				
	Tot E	BD	WD	Tot W	Tot E	BD	WD	Tot W	GINI Index
School									
1	620	19	60	79	559	23	46	69	.009
2	566	27	94	121	512	22	56	78	.102
3	1117	17	97	114	1008	14	56	70	.103
4	812	14	45	59	734	9	25	34	.116
5	724	30	137	167	697	38	53	91	.168
6	658	5	51	51	623	15	37	52	.005
Totals				591				394	

While all of the schools' GINI Indices are relatively low, the GINI Index for student withdrawals by race shows the highest degree of disproportionality in Schools Two and Four (.155 and .132 respectively, and the lowest level in School Five (at .007). Schools Three and Six also show a low GINI Index, with disproportionality being under 2%. Concerning the indices of disproportionality in withdrawals by sex, the highest level is in School Five and the lowest levels are in Schools One and Six where the index is less than 1%. These findings show that there is consistently less disproportionality in student withdrawals than in "serious disrupters" in Site B, for both race and sex. However, the withdrawal figures are consistent with the "disrupter"

figures in that each school shows disproportionately high numbers of Black and male student withdrawals. These figures also show that over ten percent of the high school population dropped out during the 1979-80 school year.

B. Identification of the "High" and "Low" Disproportionality Schools

In Site A, School Two emerged as the "low" disproportionality school. The GINI Index of Dissimilarity was lowest in this school for both race and sex. School Five emerged as the "high" disproportionality school in Site A. The GINI Index of Dissimilarity for Race is dramatically higher in School Five than in the remaining four site A schools, and is higher than any school's in Site B. School Five's GINI Index for sex falls into the cluster of top three in Site A.

School Five emerged as the "low" disproportionality school in Site B. The GINI Index of Dissimilarity in this school is lowest of the eleven for race, and one of the lowest for sex. School Three emerged as the "high" disproportionality school in Site B. The GINI Index is highest here for both race and sex though the pattern of school differences is less dramatic in Site B than in Site A. In both sites the "low" disproportionality school was clearly identifiable and in Site A, the "high" race disproportionality school was also clearly identifiable. In Site B, no one school emerged as dramatically higher in race disproportionality (i.e. the cluster of three), but the overall level of race disproportionality was higher in Site B than in Site A.

Even though we are primarily interested in characteristics that help distinguished between the "high" and "low" disproportionately schools, data will be presented for the five schools in Site A and the six schools in Site B. This is particularly appropriate for Site B where the levels of race disproportionality is relatively high in three schools.

C. Comparison of "High" and "Low" Disproportionality Schools on Selected Variables

1. Transportation to School

School busing is often perceived as a factor which explains the disproportionate numbers of Black students disciplined in many desegregated schools. Often assumed is that student discipline problems are more frequent and severe in the schools with high proportions of bused students.

Table 5 displays the number of students in the ppq sample who arrive at school by foot or bike, bus, or car. To the degree that the student ppq samples are representative of their respective schools, these figures identify the pattern of transportation mode for the student population in each school.

Our findings show that busing is not the explanatory factor in either school corporation. In Site A, the "high" and "low" race disproportionality schools both show the highest level of busing. In fact, the number of students in each transportation category is very similar in these two schools.

In Site B, Schools Five and Six, the two lowest race disproportionality schools show the lowest and highest number of students being bused respectively. School Three, the highest in the cluster schools with high levels of race disproportionality, shows a high proportion of students being bused as does School One but not School Two. Furthermore, the lowest disproportionality school, which also has the lowest number of students bused, shows the highest overall frequency of student disruptions.

2. Other Selected Variables

Also frequently assumed is that variables such as: mother's education level, family structure (e.g. divorce), home ownership, college plans and a newspaper in the home are important variables that relate to student discipline. None of these variables appeared to be significantly different in any of the schools, with a few exceptions (Bennett and Harris, 1981). In Site A, the lowest disproportionality school showed mother's educational level to be lower and home ownership to be less frequent. In Site B, the two lowest disproportionality schools showed the highest number of "broken homes," and one of them (School 6) also showed the lowest number of students who planned to attend college.

3. The Self Indices: Fatalism, Dislike School and Unfair Punishment

All of the ppq items with a personal or self focus were factor analyzed. Three factors emerged and were used as separate indicators.

a. *Fatalism Index*

Ten items were found to comprise the Fatalism Index. These same items have been used extensively in other research to measure locus of control or the degree to which an individual believes s/he has control over his or her destiny, and are the following:

When bad things are going to happen, they just are going to happen no matter what you try to do to stop them.

1. agree
2. disagree

On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

1. agree
2. disagree

Good luck is just as important for success as hard work is.

1. agree
2. disagree

I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

1. agree
2. disagree

Some kids are just naturally lucky.

1. agree
2. disagree

I feel like I don't really belong in this school.

1. agree
2. disagree

When I make plans, I am almost sure I can make them work.

1. agree
2. disagree

Most people are better off than I am.

1. agree
2. disagree

Most of the time it doesn't pay to try hard because things never turn out right anyway.

1. agree
2. disagree

Everything considered are you happy, pretty happy, or not too happy these days?

1. very happy
2. pretty happy
3. not too happy

These items were scored such that a high score indicated a high degree of "fatalism," or a feeling of lack of personal control over the environment.

No significant school differences on Fatalism were discovered in Site A. However in Site B significant differences between schools were discovered on the Fatalism Index (see Table 6b). Students scored highest on Fatalism in School Two and lowest in School Six. This suggests that students attending these schools may have differing degrees of the sense of locus of control. Since fatalism is a deeply rooted psychological orientation, the fact the students express lowest levels in Schools Five and Six (the lowest disproportionality schools) and highest levels in School Two suggests that the socio-emotional nature of the student population in their schools may warrant further study.

b. *Dislike School Index*

The five following ppq items emerged as one factor which was labeled as a Dislike School Index.

81 Do you like the principal of this school?

1. yes
2. no
3. I don't know

82. Do you think you will go to college?

1. yes
2. no

83. In the morning, are you usually glad to go to school?

1. yes
2. no

86. Do you hate school?

1. yes
2. no

87. Do you usually hate school?

1. yes
2. no

These items were scored such that a high score meant dislike of principal, no college plans, not glad to attend school, hate and usually hate school.

The school differences were significant in Site A. Schools Three and Five are above the population mean on the Dislike School Index, while Schools Two and Four are below the mean (see Table 7a). Assuming this index is a

valid indicator of pupil affect, students seem most positive about school in Schools Two (the "low" disproportionality school) and Four and least positive in Schools Three and Five (the "high" disproportionality school). School One is above the mean, but there is a large amount of variance which suggests many of the students sampled felt positive about school and many others felt negative.

In Site B, no significant differences were discovered between schools on the Dislike School Index.

c. *Unfair Punishment Index*

The following two items formed a separate factor and were labeled the Unfair Punishment Index:

84. When you get punished at school, does it usually seem it's for no good reason at all?
    1. yes
    2. no
    3. I have never been punished

85. Compared to other students you know, do you feel you get punished fairly?
    1. yes
    2. no
    3. I haven't been punished at school

The higher the score the higher the feeling that punishment occurs for no good reason and is unfair in comparison with classmates.

As shown in Tables 8a and 8b, the differences between the schools are significant in both sites. In Site A, Schools Two and Four are again below the population mean while Schools One, Three and Five are again above. Apparently more students in Schools Two and Four feel school punishment is fair than in the other schools.

In Site B, the Unfair Punishment score is highest in Schools Two, Three and Four, lowest in Schools One and Six, and at the mean in School Five. Apparently, more students in Schools One and Six feel school punishment is fair, while more tend to see it as unfair in Schools Three, Four and Two.

These findings show that students perceive more unfair punishment in the "high" than in the "low" disproportionality schools.

4. The Power Indices: Institutional Power and Grassroots Power

Eight ppq items which dealt with how much influence the student felt different groups of persons have in his or her school were factor analyzed (Items 91-99 on the ppq). Two factors emerged: Institutional Power and Grassroots Power. Institutional Power represents the influence of the school board, superintendent and principal. Grassroots Power represents the influence of the self, students and parents. No factor emerged to represent teachers and assistant principals, whose influence seemed to rest somewhere between the two other groups.

The Power Indices proved to be powerful indicators of difference in Site A. The breakdowns by school were highly significant on both Institutional and Grassroots Power indices (See Tables 9a and 10a).

Institutional Power was above the population mean in Schools Two, Three and Five. In these schools, the school board, superintendent and

principal were perceived to be relatively powerful. However, as shown in Table 10a the Grassroots Power Index for School Two is also well above the population mean. Thus, when students perceive influence on the part of the School Board, Superintendent, and Principal, this does not necessarily mean selves, students and parents are perceived to be without power. Schools One and Four are below the population mean on institutional power, suggesting that the School Board, Superintendent and Principal are perceived to be less powerful by students in these schools than in the other schools.

Significant school differences were also found in student perceptions of Grassroots Power (see Table 10a). Schools One and Two were well above the population mean, Schools Three and Four were well below; and School Five was slightly above.

In Site B, there is a trend showing that Grassroots Power is stronger in Schools Five and Six (the low disproportionality schools) than in the remaining four schools (see Table 10b). No significant differences or trends were discovered between schools on the Institutional Power Index. Overall, the students in all six high schools tend to have similar perceptions of the school board, superintendent, and principal's power. The Institutional Power mean is slightly higher than the mean in Site A, where school differences on Institutional Power were noted. However, significant school differences in teacher perceptions were discovered (Heid, 1981). Teachers perceived higher levels of both student power and administrator power in the low disproportionality school, and lower levels of each in the "high" disproportionality school.

Students in Schools Five and Six, (the low disproportionality schools) and students who have never been suspended perceive relatively more school influence for themselves, other students and parents than do their counterparts (Bennett and Harris, 1981). Thus, their perceptions of relatively strong institutional power is not at the expense of their own sense of school efficacy. Once suspended students tend to perceive low levels of both institutional and personal influence in their school.

5. Positive School Climate Index

Questions 12-25 on the ppq comprised a single factor which was labeled the Positive School Climate Index. These items were scored so that the higher an index score is, the more positive are feelings about school climate. Significant differences were found between the schools in both sites (see Tables 11a and 11b).

In Site A, the School Climate Index is above the population mean for Schools One and Four, at the mean for School Two, and below the mean for Schools Three and Five. Apparently, students in Schools One and Four feel most positive about their school environment, while students in Schools Three and Five (the high disproportionality schools) feel least positive.

In Site B, the Positive School Climate Index is highest in Schools Five and Three and lowest in Schools Two and One. The index is also above the mean in Schools Four and Six. Apparently, students in Schools Five and Three (the lowest and highest disproportionality schools) feel most positive about their school environment, while students in Schools One and Two (relatively high race disproportionality schools) feel least positive.

6. The School Desegregation Indices: Interracial Environment, Interracial Friendship, and White Predominance.

Questions 26-63 on the ppq dealt with school desegregation. These items were factor analyzed and yielded three factors: Interracial Environment, Interracial Friendship, and White Predominance.

a. *Interracial Environment*

The following items comprised the Interracial Environment Index:

32. If you could choose the kind of school you would go to, would you pick one with
    1. all white students
    2. all black students
    3. a mixture of different kinds of students

33. Do you think your friends would think badly of you if you went someplace after school with a student of a different race?
    1. yes
    2. no

57. How uncomfortable do you feel around students of a different race?
    1. generally very uncomfortable
    2. generally somewhat uncomfortable
    3. occasionaliy somewhat uncomfortable
    4. not at all uncomfortable

58. Are the student government officers in this school all of the same racial group, or are they different groups?
    1. all of the same racial group
    2. different groups

59. Are the cheerleaders in your school all of the same racial group, or are they from different groups?
    1. all of the same racial group
    2. different groups

60. How often do you have class discussions about race relations?
    1. about once a week or more often
    2. about once a month
    3. every few months
    4. no such discussions so far

61. In general, do you think that white people are smarter than black people, that black people are smarter than white people, or do you think that a person's color doesn't have anything to do with how smart he is?
    1. white people are smarter
    2. black people are smarter
    3. color doesn't have anything to do with smartness

62. The way things are going between blacks and whites in this school, do you think things will be better or worse next year?
    1. better
    2. same
    3. worse

These items were scored so that more points were given for choices indicating support for interracial interaction. The index was believed to measure the student's and the school's support for an interracial school environment.

Significant race/sex differences emerged on all of the desegregation indices. Therefore, the results will be displayed by race/sex group for each school.

Tables 12a and 12b show that White males scored lowest on the Interracial Environment Index in both sites. In Site A, Black and White females and Black males all scored above the population mean. In Site B, Black and White females scored above the population mean and Black males scored slightly below. These results indicate that White male students feel least comfortable around non-White students, tend to see Whites as being smarter and do not report school activities which support interracial relations.

In Site A, the differences between the race/sex groups on the Interracial Environment Index are significant by school (see Table 13a). Among White males and White females the Index is lowest in Schools Three and Five, indicating less support for an interracial environment in these schools. The Index is highest, for White males, in School Two, and for White females in Schools Two and Four. The sample sizes of Black males and females are small, yet the same pattern emerges showing the Index to be highest in School Two and lowest in Schools Three and Five (with the exception of one Black female in School Five).

In Site B there is a trend showing the strongest interracial environments in Schools One and Five and the least support for an interracial environment in School Three (Table 13b). The Interracial Environment Index mean was lowest in School Three, highest in Schools Five and One, and very near the total population mean in the remaining schools. Thus students perceive the strongest interracial environment in the low disproportionality school and the weakest interracial environment in the high disproportionality school.

b. *Interracial Friendship*

The Index of Interracial Friendship differs from the Interracial Environment Index in that it measures interracial relations of a more personal nature such as phone conversations, seeking help on homework, and the desire for friends of a different race. The factor which was converted into this index consists of four items:

29. Have you ever called a student of a different race on the phone?
    1. yes
    2. no

30. This school year, have you helped a student from another race with school work?
    1. yes
    2. no

31. This school year, have you asked a student from another race to help you with your homework?
    1. yes
    2. no

34. Would you like to have more friends who are of a different race?
    1. yes
    2. no

These were scored so that a high score indicated interracial mix.

As shown in Table 14a and 14b White and Black males in Site A showed the highest level of interracial mixing, while Black and White females showed the lowest level. The low level of interracial mix was strongest among Black females. Table 17 shows that in Site B White males again showed the highest level of interracial mixing of a personal nature, and Black females showed the lowest level. Both Black males and White females were slightly below the population mean in Site B.

Significant school differences on the Interracial Friendship Index were discovered in both Sites (see Table 15a). In Site A, among Black and White males (the two groups reporting the greatest interracial interaction of a personal nature) the Interracial Friendship Index is lowest in Schools Five and Three for White males and lowest in Schools Five and Four for Black males. The Index is highest in School Two for Black males and in Schools One and Two for White males. These findings show that the most interracial interaction based upon students' personal interaction and school support (e.g. class discussions, student government) occurs in the low race disproportionality school (School Two), while the least interracial interactions occur in Schools Five and Three, the high disproportionality schools.

In Site B, the Index is lowest in School One, highest in School Three, and relatively close to the total population mean in the remaining four schools. Thus we find the strongest degree of interracial friendship among students, in School Three, the highest race disproportionality school (see Tables 15b and 15c).

c. *Administration Support Index*

Two items on the student ppq were used to tap student perceptions of how school administrators felt about school desegregation. The items are the following:

Once again, these items were scored so that high scores indicated support for desegregation.

As shown in Table 16b, significant school differences were discovered on the Administration Support Index in Site B only. The Index was lowest in Schools One, Two, and Three and highest in Schools Four, Five and Six. Apparently students in Schools Four, Five and Six perceive their school administrators to be more supportive of school desegregation than do students in the remaining three schools.

d. *The White Predominance Index*

Students were asked, "How likely is it that a black student will participate in the following activities?"

35. Play on a football team
36. Play on the chess team
37. Give own idea in class
38. Serve on a school committee
39. Be a cheerleader
40. Win a scholarship
41. Belong to the scholarship club
42. Play in the band

43. Play in the orchestra
44. Be in the school government
45. Take leading roles in a school play
46. Take an advanced math class
47. Take auto mechanics
48. Take a foreign language
49. Take home economics
50. Take typing
51. Give a speech in an assembly
52. Sing in a glee club or choir
53. Play on the basketball team

For each item, students were asked whether the activity was:

1. more likely of a White student
2. more likely of a Black student
3. Black and White students just as likely

A response of "one" was scored three points, three was scored two points, and a two was scored one point. This scoring decision was based on the basic frequency data (see Table 23), which showed a strong tendency for students to perceive Whites rather than Blacks as more likely to participate in most of the activities.

It is difficult to determine whether students' responses to these items were based on their perceptions of the innate or developed potential of Black and White students, or whether they were reporting the school realities which could stem from factors related to the school. However, in view of the clear differences discovered between White males on one hand and White females, and Black males and females on the other hand, the former explanation is more likely (see Tables 18a and 18b). It seems less plausible that White males, White females, and Black males and females would perceive differently the number of Blacks who participate in school activities than that their basic racial attitudes differ. However, the fact that clear significant school differences emerged along with the race/sex differences indicates that both psychological and school factors are involved (see Tables 17a and 17b).

In Site A, White males do score highest on the White Predominance Index, but their scores are highest in School Five and lowest in School Two. The same school differences emerged for Black males and females, and (except for School Three) White females.

White males also score highest on the White Predominance Index in Site B, but their scores are highest in School Four and lowest in School Five. Schools Three and Four show the highest White Predominance Index among White females; among Black males the Index is highest in Schools One and Three, and among Black females Four and Six show the highest White Predominance Index. For all race/sex groups the Index is low in School Five.

These findings suggest that "white predominance" is strongest in the high disproportionality schools and weakest in the low disproportionality schools. Assuming that this scale is one indicator of a racist orientation (i.e. the belief that Whites are more likely to participate in certain activities because of innately superior abilities) then the White male students surveyed are more racist than their Black and White female classmates. The school differences may be explained either by the existence of informal and/or formal

school practice which tend to exclude Black students from various activities in some schools, by the fact that White students may come from neighborhoods of different racial attitudes, by differences in students' interests and abilities, by different attitudes within the home about participation in various school activities, or (most likely) some combination of these. Further study is necessary to clarify the reasons for these school and race/sex group differences.

Summary

This research identifies some variables which help distinguish between schools showing high and low levels of disproportionality in school discipline. The findings are clearest in Site A where the indices of dissimilarity were most distinct and identified School Two as the "low" disproportionality school and School Five as the "high" disproportionality school. School Five, along with School Three (the second highest disproportionality school), was characterized by:

a. the highest levels of race disproportionality among student "disrupters"
b. high levels of race disproportionality in student withdrawals
c. highest scores on the Dislike School Index
d. lowest scores on the Fair Punishment Index
e. high scores on the Institutional Power Index
f. lowest (School Three) and average scores on the Grassroots Power Index
g. lowest scores on the Positive School Climate Index
h. lowest scores on Interracial Environment
i. lowest scores on Interracial Friendship, and
j. highest scores on White Predominance

School Two, the "low" disproportionality school, presents a sharp contrast. Here students score lowest on Unfair Punishment. They also score high on both Institutional and Grassroots Power, and score at the mean on Positive School Climate. The pattern concerning the school desegregation indices in School Two is striking. Students here score highest on Interracial Environment and Interracial Friendship, and lowest on White Predominance. Noteworthy is the fact that School Two had a Black Assistant Principal who was appointed to the principalship just prior to the study. She was the only Black principal among the eleven participating schools. This fact, along with our findings, support the conclusions of Forehand and Rogosta (1976) that strong institutional support is a key factor in effective school integration.

In Site B, the differences between "high" and "low" disproportionality schools were less clearcut. This would be expected since three schools clustered in the "high" disproportionality range. A pair of schools emerged as "low" disproportionality schools, and one was clearly the lowest of the eleven schools studied. Nevertheless, many of the findings on school characteristics in Site B corroborate the findings in Site A.

In Site B, the "low" disproportionality schools, (Schools Five and Six) are characterized by stronger feelings of personal efficacy, feelings that school punishment is fair and reasonable, and stronger perceptions of "student power" in school. No significant school differences were discovered

among students on Dislike School or Institutional Power. School Three, the "high" disproportionality school was characterized by the highest student scores on both Unfair Punishment and Positive School Climate. However, Schools One and Two, which clustered with School Three as a "high" disproportionality school, scored lowest on Positive School Climate.

As was true in Site A, the school desegregation indices established clear differences between the "high" and "low" disproportionality schools. School Three, the "high" disproportionality school, scored lowest on Interracial Environment, lowest on Administration Support for School Desegregation, and highest on White Predominance. Interestingly these students also scored highest on Interracial Friendship.

In the "low" disproportionality schools, Schools Five and Six, students scored highest on Interracial Environment, highest on Administrator Support, and lowest on White Predominance.

We cannot at this point determine the extent to which these school differences on the school desegregation indices are due to different psychological orientations among the student population and/or different school practices. Nevertheless it is clear that the school desegregation variables we studied are related to race disproportionality in school discipline.

These findings, plus portions of this research presented elsewhere (Bennett and Harris, 1981, and 1981a and Heid, 1981) support the position that the schools themselves are to some large degree responsible for the disproportionate numbers of males and Blacks who are disciplined in our schools. There is a small but consistent body of research which documents this conclusion (e.g. Arnove, 1980; Bickel, 1980; Forehand and Rogosta, 1976; Moody, 1980).

Table 1a

Race Disproportionality of "Serious Disrupter" in Site A by School GINI Index of Dissimilarity

		Disrupter		Non-Disrupter	Total
School 1	B	14		293	307
			.112		
	W	29		1,078	1,107
School 2	B	12		129	141
			.075		
	W	72		1,780	1,852
School 3	B	21		210	231
			.162		
	W	55		1,623	1,678
School 4	B	12		153	165
			.144		
	W	38		1,434	1,472
School 5	B	34		132	166
			.415		
	W	35		1,563	1,598
		87			

Table 1b

Race Disproportionality of "Serious Disrupter" in Site B by School GINI Index of Dissimilarity

School	GINI Index		Disrupter	Non Disrupter	Total
1	.242	B	9	241	250
		W	11	918	929
2	.237	B	6	123	129
		W	11	938	949
3	.298	B	13	316	329
		W	16	1780	1796
4	.193	B	17	175	192
		W	38	1326	1364
5	.036	B	46	320	366
		W	113	942	1055
6	.110	B	25	234	259
		W	57	965	1022

Table 2a

Sex Disproportionality of "Serious Disrupter" in Site A by School GINI Index of Dissimilarity

		Disrupter		Non-Disrupter	Total
School 1	Males	29		688	717
			.173		
	Females	14		683	697
School 2	Males	51		972	1,022
			.086		
	Females	34		937	971
School 3	Males	59		892	951
			.290		
	Females	17		941	958
School 4	Males	39		817	856
			.265		
	Females	11		770	781
School 5	Males	51		880	931
			.220		
	Females	18		815	833

Table 3a

Withdrawal Data of Site A School Corporation High Schools for the 1978-79 School Year***

	Population by Race			Withdrawals by Race			% of Total Population and Total Withdrawals by Race and Impact (+) or (−)					
							Black			White		
School	B	W	*Total	B	W	Total	% of Total Pop.	% of Total Withdrawals	**Impact	% of Total Pop.	% of Total Withdrawals	**Impact
1	314	1,231	1,552	44	209	253	20.2	17.3	−2.9	79.3	82.6	+3.3
2	140	1,996	2,146	22	200	222	6.5	9.9	+3.4	93.0	90.0	−3.0
3	196	1,667	1,876	21	110	131	10.4	16.0	+5.6	88.8	83.9	−4.9
4	154	1,489	1,652	23	106	129	9.3	17.8	+8.5	90.1	82.1	−8.0
5	180	1,686	1,859	29	139	168	9.6	17.2	+7.5	90.6	82.2	−8.4
Corporation Total	984	8,069	9,085	139	764	903	10.8	15.3	+4.5	88.8	84.6	−4.2

*Totals include minorities other than Black, designated as:
-American Indian/Alaskan Native
-Asian/Pacific Islander American
-Spanish Surnamed American (Hispanic)

**(+) = Disproportionate Impact
(−) = No disproportionate Impact

***Source: Table is developed from original data supplied by the Department of Public Instruction, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Table 2b

Sex Disproportionality of "Serious Disrupters" in Site B by School GINI Index of Dissimilarity

School	GINI Index		Disrupter	Non Disrupter	Total
1	.242	M	11	609	620
		F	9	550	559
2	.115	M	7	559	566
		F	10	502	512
3	.271	M	23	1094	1117
		F	6	1002	1008
4	.172	M	38	774	812
		F	17	717	734
5	.134	M	100	624	724
		F	59	638	697
6	.225	M	58	650	658
		F	22	601	623

Table 5

Student Modes of Transportation to School by School

School	Walk/bike	Bus	Car	Walk/bike	Bus	Car
1	31	13	70	19	128*	82
2	14	51**	84	50	12*	130
3	10	28	25	10	114*	79
4	11	39	133	30	42	126
5	15	66*	83	100	10**	98
6				14	134**	80

**Signifies "low" race disproportionality school
*Signifies "high" race disproportionality school

Table 6b

Analysis of Variance: Fatalism Index By School

School	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
1	6.8632	1.0751	(190)
2	7.5143	3.8254	(210)
3	7.0512	2.5709	(215)
4	6.8333	.9683	(204)
5	6.8128	1.2027	(219)
6	6.5745	1.5407	(235)
Total		6.9356	(1273)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS		df
Between Groups	110.2772	(	5)
Within Groups	5752.4408	(	1267)
Total	5862.7180	(	1272)

F = 4.8578 SIG. = .0002

Table 7a
Analysis of Variance:
Dislike School Index Broken by School in Site A

School	$\bar{X}$	SD		N
School 1	6.9832	3.3344	(	119)
School 2	6.7320	1.3179	(	153)
School 3	7.0317	1.1635	(	63)
School 4	6.4620	1.4214	(	184)
School 5	7.0482	1.6098	(	166)
Total	6.8073	1.9105	(	685)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS		df	MS
Between Groups	39.2994	(	4)	9.8248
Within Groups	2457.2641	(	680)	3.6136
Total	2496.5635	(	684)	

F = 2.7188 SIG. = .0288

Table 8a

Analysis of Variance:
Unfair Punishment Index Broken Down By School in Site A

	$\bar{X}$	SD		N
School 1	4.7542	2.1758	(	118)
School 2	4.5669	1.7070	(	157)
School 3	4.8615	1.3449	(	65)
School 4	4.2434	1.7023	(	189)
School 5	4.6118	1.5002	(	170)
Total	4.5494	1.7259	(	699)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS		df	MS
Between Groups	29.6920	(	4)	7.4230
Within Groups	2049.3552	(	694)	2.9530
Total	2079.0472	(	698)	

F = 2.5137 SIG. = .0405

Table 8b

Analysis of Variance
Unfair Punishment by School

School	$\bar{X}$	SD		N
1	4.3246	1.5692	(	191)
2	4.7115	1.9320	(	208)
3	4.7870	1.5615	(	216)
4	4.7317	1.5053	(	205)
5	4.5388	1.4876	(	219)
6	4.3234	1.7510	(	235)
Total	4.5683	1.6516	(	1274)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS		df
Between Groups	45.7032	(	5)
Within Groups	3426.8556	(	1268)
Total	3472.5589	(	1273)

F = 3.3822 SIG. = .0049

Table 9a

Analysis of Variance:
Institutional Power Index Broken Down by School in Site A

School	$\bar{X}$	SD		N
School 1	7.9524	3.9534	(	126)
School 2	9.2785	3.7720	(	158)
School 3	8.8267	4.5034	(	75)
School 4	8.3231	3.6359	(	195)
School 5	9.1908	3.5835	(	173)
Total	8.7249	3.8310	(	727)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS		df
Between Groups	193.4202	(	4)
Within Groups	10,461.5591	(	722)

F = 3.3372 SIG. = .0101

Table 10a

Analysis of Variance:
Grassroots Power Index Broken Down By School
in Site A

School	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
School 1	7.3571	4.2284	(126)
School 2	7.1519	3.4293	(158)
School 3	5.9467	3.5102	(75)
School 4	6.4154	3.1125	(195)
School 5	6.8555	3.3196	(173)
Total	6.7950	3.5033	(727)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	142.6514	(4)
Within Groups	8,767.8108	(722)

F = 2.9367 SIG. = .0200

Table 10b

Analysis of Variance
Grassroots Power Index by School

School	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
1	7.9234	3.2229	235
2	7.3981	3.1732	211
3	7.8940	3.4390	217
4	7.6488	3.3260	205
5	8.0636	3.2556	220
6	8.2869	3.4888	237
Total	7.8808		1325

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	197.1058	5
Within Groups	14,550.0535	1319
Total	14,657.1593	1324

F = 1.9419 SIG. = .0849

Table 11a

Analysis of Variance:
Positive School Climate Index Broken Down By School in Site A

School	$\bar{X}$	SD		N
1	39.9333	9.8899	(	120)
2	38.2115	10.3985	(	156)
3	37.0923	8.8242	(	65)
4	39.5508	8.3467	(	187)
5	36.6095	9.8253	(	169)
Total	38.3745	9.5703	(	697)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS		df
Between Groups	1,187.8411	(	4)
Within Groups	62,559.4243	(	692)

F = 3.2848 SIG. = .0111

Table 11b

Analysis of Variance
Positive School Climate Index by School

School	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
1	33.9515	8.5270	227
2	33.5961	9.3048	203
3	37.1553	10.3916	206
4	36.5350	9.2654	200
5	37.5092	8.3054	218
6	36.7600	10.5988	225
Total	35.9156	9.5415	1279

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	3075.2308	5
Within Groups	.113E+06	1273
Total	.116E+06	1278

F = 6.9121 SIG. = .0000

Table 12a

Scores on Interracial Environment Index by Race and Sex: Analysis of Variance in Site A

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
White male	17.6570	3.1574	242
White female	18.5500	2.2122	320
Black male	19.1957	3.7690	46
Black female	18.6500	2.4339	20
Other male	19.3333	.5774	3
Other female	17.0000	0	1
Total	18.2595		632

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	163.2542	5
Within Groups	4,716.1889	626

F = 4.3339 SIG. = .0007

Table 12b

Scores on Interracial Environment Index by Race and Sex: Analysis of Variance

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
White male	18.1349	2.7342	519
White female	19.0439	2.2405	547
Black male	18.4690	2.7110	103
Black female	19.3627	2.0909	102
Other male	18.8571	2.7695	14
Other female	19.7667	2.3589	30
Total	18.6791	2.5255	1315

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	314.7787	5
Within Groups	8065.7962	1309
Total	8380.5749	1314

F = 10.2171 SIG. = .0000

Table 13a

Interracial School Environment Index Broken Down by Race/Sex Group and School: Analysis of Variance in Site A

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
White Male			
School			
1	18.3714	4.7532	(35)
2	17.8871	3.1000	(62)
3	16.8333	2.7279	(18)
4	17.9200	2.4092	(75)
5	16.8983	2.7773	(59)
Total	17.6546	3.1304	(249)
White Female			
School			
1	18.2453	2.1653	(53)
2	18.3016	2.3803	(63)
3	18.0000	1.9228	(34)
4	19.5506	1.8154	(89)
5	18.0741	2.3118	(81)
Total	18.5500	2.2122	(320)
Black Male			
School			
1	19.6667	5.9899	(12)
2	20.3846	3.2797	(13)
3	17.3333	1.5275	(3)
4	18.2222	2.2236	(9)
5	18.4444	1.8105	(9)
Total	19.1957	3.7690	(46)
Black Female			
School			
1	18.6000	1.5166	(5)
2	19.0000	2.5071	(8)
3	16.2500	2.0616	(4)
4	20.0000	1.7321	(3)
5	22.0000	0	(1)
Total	18.6667	2.3735	(21)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	166.9241	5
Within Groups	4,744.0697	634
Total	4,910.9938	639

F = 4.4616 SIG. = .0005

Table 13b

Interracial School Environment Index Broken Down by Race/Sex Group and School: Analysis of Variance

	Sum	$\bar{X}$	SD	Variance	N
White Male					
School					
1	1485.0000	19.0385	2.6845	7.2063	78
2	1285.0000	18.3571	3.1670	10.0300	70
3	1742.0000	18.3368	3.7745	14.2470	95
4	1359.0000	18.1200	2.6710	7.1341	75
5	1441.0000	18.4744	2.7715	7.6812	78
6	1708.0000	18.5652	4.1066	16.8638	92
White Female					
School					
1	1439.0000	19.4459	2.6901	7.2368	74
2	2038.0000	19.4095	2.7724	7.6864	105
3	1534.0000	18.9383	2.4359	5.9336	81
4	1918.0000	19.1800	1.9765	3.9067	100
5	1585.0000	19.3293	2.2391	5.0137	82
6	1458.0000	19.1842	2.3478	5.5123	76
Black Male					
School					
1	235.0000	19.5833	1.3790	1.9015	12
2	288.0000	19.2000	4.1438	17.1714	15
3	330.0000	19.4118	5.4893	30.1324	17
4	248.0000	20.6667	3.4728	12.0606	12
5	296.0000	19.7333	4.6823	21.9238	15
6	436.0000	18.9565	2.4022	5.7708	23
Black Female					
School					
1	321.0000	20.0625	1.8786	3.5292	16
2	176.0000	19.5556	1.5899	2.5278	9
3	271.0000	19.3571	2.7346	7.4780	14
4	186.0000	18.6000	1.8379	3.3778	10
5	499.0000	20.7917	2.2454	5.0417	24
6	378.0000	18.9000	2.4039	5.7789	20

Table 14a

Scores on Interracial Friendship Index by Race and Sex: Analyses of Variance

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
White male	7.0433	3.2611	254
White female	6.1420	1.7661	324
Black male	6.8478	3.5651	46
Black female	5.6316	.8307	19
Other male	5.0000	1.4142	2
Other female	4.0000	0	1
Total	6.5248		646

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	146.7551	5
Within Groups	4,284.3486	640

F = 4.3845 SIG. = .0006

Table 14b

Scores on Interracial Friendship Index by Race and Sex: Analysis of Variance

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
White male	6.5973	1.5871	519
White female	6.0676	1.3069	547
Black male	6.1650	1.7551	103
Black female	5.4804	1.2799	102
Other male	5.7857	2.2931	14
Other female	5.3667	1.1592	30

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	167.1737	5
Within Groups	2,824.3122	1309
Total	2,991.4859	1314

F = 15.4962 SIG. = .0000

Table 15a

Index of Interracial Friendship Index by Race/Sex Group and School: Analysis of Variance

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
White Male			
School			
1	8.1026	6.0122	(39)
2	7.1587	1.5781	(63)
3	5.8333	1.4653	(18)
4	6.8158	3.1271	(76)
5	6.9077	2.3765	(65)
Total	7.0460	3.2436	(261)
White Female			
School			
1	5.7818	2.0700	(55)
2	6.3582	1.5443	(67)
3	6.0294	1.1142	(34)
4	6.2472	2.1913	(89)
5	6.3210	2.1262	(81)
Total	6.1871	1.9435	(326)
Black Male			
School			
1	7.2500	4.5151	(12)
2	7.8462	4.8450	(13)
3	7.6667	.5774	(3)
4	5.5556	1.1304	(9)
5	5.8889	1.3642	(9)
Total	6.8478	3.5651	(46)
Black Female			
School			
1	5.7500	.5000	(4)
2	6.1250	2.5319	(8)
3	5.7500	.5000	(4)
4	6.3333	1.1547	(3)
5	5.0000	0	(1)
Total	5.9500	1.6376	(20)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	129.6420	5
Within Groups	4,587.9189	650
Total	4,717.5610	655

F = 3.6734 SIG. = .0028

Table 15b

Index of Interracial Friendship by Race/Sex Group and School: Analysis of Variance

	Sum	$\bar{X}$	SD	Variance	N
White Male					
School					
1	500.0000	6.4103	1.8050	3.2581	78
2	481.0000	7.0735	2.0539	4.2184	68
3	675.0000	7.1053	1.9704	3.8824	95
4	509.000	6.9726	1.9577	3.8326	73
5	540.0000	6.8354	2.0155	4.0623	79
6	678.0000	7.0625	3.6413	13.2592	96
White Female					
School					
1	422.0000	5.6257	1.3634	1.8587	75
2	681.0000	6.4857	2.7179	7.3868	105
3	517.0000	6.3827	1.3093	1.7142	81
4	631.0000	6.3737	1.6073	2.5834	99
5	489.0000	5.9634	1.7317	2.9986	82
6	526.0000	6.5750	2.6661	7.1082	80
Black Male					
School					
1	75.0000	5.7692	1.2352	1.5256	13
2	98.0000	6.5333	4.4860	20.1238	15
3	178.0000	10.4706	8.1939	67.1397	17
4	80.0000	6.1538	3.0234	9.1410	13
5	111.0000	6.5294	1.2307	1.5147	17
6	156.0000	6.5000	3.4891	12.1739	24
Black Female					
School					
1	89.0000	5.5625	2.7072	7.3292	16
2	84.0000	7.6364	4.5885	21.0545	11
3	96.0000	6.4000	2.8735	8.2571	15
4	58.0000	5.2727	2.3703	5.6182	11
5	127.0000	5.2917	1.2676	1.6069	24
6	122.0000	5.8095	1.7782	3.1619	21

Table 15c

Scores of Interracial Friendship Index by School: Analysis of Variance

School	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
1	5.9399	2.0481	233
2	6.8079	2.9664	203
3	7.1349	3.1954	215
4	6.4826	1.9367	201
5	6.2258	1.8732	217
6	6.6723	3.1363	235

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	200.7280	5
Within Groups	8745.6493	1298

F = 5.9583 SIG. = .0000

Table 16b

Mean Scores on Administrative Desegregation Support Index by School

School	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
1	5.3120	2.0152	234
2	5.5308	1.9106	211
3	5.9259	1.8386	216
4	6.2146	1.6428	205
5	6.1727	1.5695	220
6	6.3291	1.7640	237
Total	5.9123	1.8355	1323

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	189.9165	5
Within Groups	4263.9126	1217
Total	4453.8292	1322

F = 11.7320 SIG. = .0000

Table 17a

The White Predominance Index by Race/Sex Group

	Sum	$\bar{X}$	SD	SS	N
White Male	19991.0000	41.4751	4.8944	11522.2012	482
White Female	20854.0000	39.6464	4.5607	10920.2281	526
Black Male	3889.0000	40.5104	5.2335	2601.9896	96
Black Female	3995.0000	40.3535	4.5385	2018.6263	99

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df	MS
Between Groups	851.6802	5	170.3360
Within Groups	28229.0877	1239	22.7838
Total	29080.7679	1244	

F = 7.4762 SIG. = .0000

Table 18a

The White Predominance Index Broken Down By Race/Sex Group and School

	$\bar{X}$	SD	N
White Male			
School			
1	42.3438	4.7560	(32)
2	42.2833	5.7522	(60)
3	44.0556	5.5675	(18)
4	43.0000	4.8127	(75)
5	45.7308	4.4858	(52)
Total	43.4093	5.1803	(237)
White Female			
School			
1	40.6538	4.0723	(52)
2	41.5556	5.0729	(63)
3	40.4706	4.6855	(34)
4	41.8353	3.6931	(85)
5	43.6790	4.3727	(81)
Total	41.9111	4.4634	(315)
Black Male			
School			
1	42.6667	4.0311	(9)
2	40.4545	4.7405	(11)
3	42.6667	3.0551	(3)
4	40.1111	9.6882	(9)
5	44.7778	3.5629	(9)
Total	41.9756	5.8288	(41)
Black Female			
School			
1	41.0000	4.0825	(4)
2	40.8571	4.7759	(7)
3	42.7500	2.9861	(4)
4	42.3333	5.1316	(3)
5	47.0000	0	(1)
Total	41.8421	4.1266	(19)

ANOVA TABLE

	SS	df
Between Groups	449.0207	5
Within Groups	14,264.9793	610
Total	14,714.0000	615

F = 3.8402 SIG. = .0020

113

Table 18b

The White Predominance Index by Race/Sex Group and School

	Sum	$\bar{X}$	SD	Variance	N
White Male					
School					
1	3551.0000	40.8161	4.6042	21.1983	87
2	2685.0000	41.9531	4.8679	23.6962	64
3	3717.0000	41.7640	5.2441	27.5005	89
4	2932.0000	43.1176	4.5434	20.6427	68
5	3219.0000	40.7468	4.4649	19.9351	79
6	3887.0000	40.9158	5.1914	26.9503	95
White Female					
School					
1	3673.0000	39.4946	4.3279	18.7309	93
2	3996.0000	38.7961	4.3145	18.6149	103
3	3108.0000	40.3636	5.3752	28.8923	77
4	3996.0000	40.7755	4.4986	20.2377	98
5	3148.0000	39.3500	4.6309	21.4456	80
6	2933.0000	39.1067	3.9850	15.8804	75
Black Male					
School					
1	577.0000	41.2143	4.4752	20.0275	14
2	611.0000	40.7333	5.7628	33.2095	15
3	630.0000	45.0000	3.4194	11.6923	14
4	523.0000	40.2308	6.6100	43.6923	13
5	678.0000	39.8824	3.9510	15.6103	17
6	870.0000	37.8261	4.7064	22.1502	23
Black Female					
School					
1	774.0000	40.7368	4.4452	19.7602	19
2	401.0000	40.1000	3.3149	10.9889	10
3	585.0000	39.0000	4.4078	19.4286	15
4	471.0000	42.8182	3.6556	13.3636	11
5	879.0000	38.2174	4.7190	22.2688	23
6	885.0000	42.1429	4.4641	19.9286	21

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A STUDY OF THE CAUSES OF DISPROPORTIONALITY IN SUSPENSIONS AND EXPULSIONS OF MALE AND BLACK STUDENTS

PART THREE: *Teacher and Administrator Attitudes*

Camilla A. Heid

Suspension and expulsion solve problems for teachers and administrators but only at the expense of those who look to the school as a mechanism for social and economic advancement. This is all the more problematic when it occurs in a desegregated school setting, thwarting the very expectations which are central to integration. Yet, both are accepted reactions to disruptive students.

Attention is often directed toward the inability of students to cope with the environment in desegregated schools. Implied is that school disorders exist primarily because students have developed a lack of respect for teachers and administrators. However, a contrasting point of view suggests that students may not be totally responsible for the disruption and chaos that is evident.

Several causative factors may be responsible for the disproportionate suspension and expulsion of Black and male students. First, it may be contended that these students are more disruptive; yet many attend school without any record of discipline problems. Second, the school itself may be at fault. Do the current programs provide success and a feeling of accomplishment for all students? Does poor academic achievement contribute to poor behavior? Third, teachers and administrators tend to come from middle class backgrounds. Perhaps they do not understand students from different socioeconomic backgrounds. If this is true, should the teachers and administrators or the students do the adjusting? Fourth, many students come from an unstable family structure. How does this affect their chances of being suspended or expelled? Fifth, it is possible that the disproportionate suspension and expulsion rate for minority students is a more subtle form of discrimination replacing the massive resistance to busing and desegregation of the past decades. Finally, it is said that a school is the shadow of its administrator. Does the administrator's perceptions of the school environment affect the rate of suspension or expulsion of Black and male students? (*School Suspensions: Are They Helping Children*, 1975).

This research project has studied both student characteristics and school characteristics. The aim was to identify explanations of disproportionality among Black and male student "disrupters," and to identify promising school practices and conditions which help mediate the problem. Too voluminous to be presented in a single paper, the findings are reported in three papers which focus on student characteristics (Bennett and Harris, 1981), school characteristics (Bennett, 1981) and teacher and administrator attitudes and beliefs (Heid, 1981).

The research was conducted in two large urban school corporations located in the midwest. Both corporations had previously been ranked among the country's one hundred most problematic school corporations concerning minorities and school discipline (HEW, 1976). Both corporations were concerned about the problem and agreed to participate in a study that would lead to programs designed to counter the problem of disproportionality in school discipline.

Each school corporation was treated as a totally separate research site, and all data were analyzed separately. However, the methodology and data collection techniques were nearly identical, and thus it was possible to examine the degree to which findings from the two separate school corporations would corroborate each other.

The findings in the two different sites are, in fact, highly similar. The characteristics of "serious disrupters," as well as administrator and teacher attitudes and beliefs, are virtually identical. And, while some differences were discovered between the highest race disproportionality school in each site, the lowest disproportionality schools were alike on most of the variables studied.

I. Methodology and Data Source

A. *Overview*

The study was conducted with full cooperation of the central administration and building principals in both school corporations. Two Project Facilitators, one based in each school corporation, joined the project staff.

The total number of high schools possible, five from Site A and six from Site B, participated in the study. All "serious disrupters" i.e., students who had been suspended three or more times and/or expelled from school, in each school corporation were identified ($N_A = 322$ and $N_B = 362$). Random samples of 100 and 110 students stratified by school, race, sex and grade level were selected from the population of "serious distrupters" in each district. Other random samples of 100 and 110 non-disrupters, again stratified by school, race and sex were selected from the ninth, tenth and eleventh graders enrolled in each school. The family of each selected student was personally contacted for written permission to participate in the study. When permission was not obtained, another student was randomly selected.

Four interview formats were developed for this study by the project staff: an administrator, teacher, parent and student format. Although the formats differed, a common core of questions on student discipline used in previous research was included in each format, as was a common core on school desegregation. Three paper pencil questionnaire formats (for students, teachers and administrators) were also developed. Most of the items had been used in previous research on school discipline and/or school desegregation (Forehand and Ragosta, 1976; Bickel, 1979; and Bennett, 1980).

Both disruptive and non-disruptive students and their parents were interviewed from both sites ($N_A = 200$ and $N_B = 220$). Ten teachers and the top 3-4 administrators in each school were also interviewed. These administrators ($N_A = 18$ and $N_B = 19$) completed a paper pencil questionnaire. Finally a random sample of teachers ($N_A = 51$ and $N_B = 127$) and students ($N_A = 727$ and $N_B = 1266$), excluding those interviewed, were asked to complete a paper pencil questionnaire.

B. *The Administrator Sample*

Interviews were conducted and paper pencil questionnaires distributed to all secondary building level administrators at both sites. The return rate on the questionnaire was one hundred percent.

The sample at Site A was predominantly white male, with eleven white males, three black males and two black females. Two individuals did not indicate sex or race. The respondents at Site B were predominantly white, with eleven white males, five white females and two black females. One administrator did not report sex or race.

C. *The Teacher Sample*

Paper pencil questionnaires were distributed randomly in twenty-five teacher mailboxes in each of the schools. The questionnaire was anonymous and returned in a sealed envelope to the principal's office. At Site A, one-half of the questionnaires in each school were returned. School 3A was the exception, only one-third of the questionnaires were returned. (It must be noted that the questionnaires were distributed during the last week of the school year, a most inappropriate time for teachers). The return rate at Site B ranged from seventy-two to one hundred percent at each school.

The sample at Site A was predominantly White, with twenty five white males, twenty four white females and one black female. One individual did not indicate sex or race. Most of the respondents are between twenty six and fifty five years of age, with nineteen between twenty six and thirty five years of age, ten between thirty six and forty five years of age and fifteen between forty six and fifty five years of age. Fifty four percent of the respondents teach an academic, business or vocational subject. Thirty eight or seventy five percent of the respondents have taught more than twenty years.

The sample at Site B was also predominantly White, with seventy-eight white males, thirty-eight white females, one black male and five black females. Eight teachers did not indicate sex or race. As in Site A, most of the respondents were between twenty-six and fifty-five years of age, with forty between twenty-six and thirty-five years of age, twenty-eight between thirty-six and forty-five years of age and thirty between forty-six and fifty-five years of age. Seventy-five percent of the respondents teach an academic, business or vocational subject. Seventy percent have taught more than ten years.

II. Findings

A. *Overview of Findings on Disproportionality in School Discipline*

The GINI Index of Dissimilarity was used to examine the degree to which disproportionate numbers of male and/or Black students comprised the serious disrupter population. The GINI Index of Dissimilarity assumes that the total suspension rate for the individual school is appropriate. The GINI Index indicates the percent of total disrupters that should be added to the white or female disrupters and subtracted from the black or male disrupters. The new figures represent the race or sex composition of the school.

The data in Tables 1 and 2 illustrate the level of disproportionality in each school by race and sex. Race disproportionality is highest in Schools 5A and 3B and lowest in Schools 2A and 5B. School 5A reports a black disrupter percent five times the percent of the black population, while School 3B

reports a black disrupter percent three times the percent of the black population. School 2A with a low disproportionality rate, suspends or expels twice as many Blacks as should be expected. However, School 5B exhibits little race disproportionality.

Sex disproportionality is highest in Schools 3A and 3B and lowest in Schools 2A and 2B. Sex disproportionality is not as pronounced as the race disproportionality. Contrary to most expectations, School 2B suspends or expels a smaller percentage of males than the percent reflective of the male population at that school.

B. *The Power Indices: Institutional Power and Grassroots Power*

Eight paper pencil questionnaire items which dealt with how much influence the teacher felt different groups of persons have in the school were factor analyzed. Two factors emerged: Institutional Power and Grassroots Power. Institutional Power is defined as the sum of the measures of influence of the school board, superintendent and principal. Grassroots Power is defined as the sum of the measures of influence of the individual, students, and parents.

Tables 3 and 4 fail to reveal significant school differences in teacher perceptions at Site B on Institutional Power or Grassroots Power. The Institutional Power Index is highest in School 5B and lowest in School 6B. The population mean is nearly equivalent in the remaining four schools. This indicates that the teachers in School 5B perceive the school board, superintendent and principal to be more influential than do teachers in the other schools. It should be noted that School 5B has the lowest race disproportionality rate. The school board, superintendent, and principal are perceived to be least influential by teachers in School 6B.

The Grassroots Power Index is highest in School 6B, lowest in School 3B and relatively similar in the other schools. Teachers in School 3B perceive students, parents and teachers to be least influential in their school, while teachers in School 6B perceive students, parents and teachers to be most influential. School 3B has the highest level of disproportionality for males and black students. These results indicate that teachers tend to perceive more Grassroots Power when there is less Institutional Power. The opposite also tends to be true, i.e., perceptions of less Grassroots Power accompany perceptions of more Institutional Power.

Tables 5 and 6 indicate that no significant differences in teacher perceptions of Institutional Power or Grassroots Power were found in Site A. School 2A is lowest on the Institutional Power Index, while School 4A is the highest. The Grassroots Power Index is highest in School 5A and lowest in School 3A. This finding conflicts with the finding at Site B. Schools 2A and 5B are low in race disproportionality, while 2A is lowest on the Institutional Power Index and 5B is the highest. Schools 5A and 3B indicate high levels or race disproportionality, however School 5A is highest at Site A on the Grassroots Power Index while School 3B is lowest on that index at Site B.

C. *School Climate*

Clearly recognized is the fact that the teacher is the central figure in the classroom. It is the responsibility of the teacher to establish a climate that is conducive to learning, responsive to the needs of the individual learner and encouraging to the total development of the student (Bickel, 1979).

Twelve paper pencil questionnaire items comprised a single factor which was labeled the School Climate Index. (Bickel, 1979) The items were scored so that the higher an index score is, the more positive are feelings about school climate.

In this study Site B showed no significant differences on the Positive School Climate Index as perceived by teachers. (See Table 7.) However, Site A did display significant differences between schools on the Positive School Climate Index as perceived by teachers. (See Table 8.)

The Positive School Climate Index is above the population mean in Schools 1A and 5A, at the mean in School 2A and below the mean in Schools 3A and 4A. Thus teachers in Schools 1A and 5A have the most positive perceptions about their school climate and teachers in Schools 3A and 4A report the most negative perceptions. Further study is warranted to show the relationship between Institutional Power, Grassroots Power and School Climate.

The frequency distribution indicates that administrators view school climate positively. Their responses were consistently categorized as 'almost always' and 'often.' (See Tables 9 and 10.) Overall, teachers perceived school climate in a positive manner. (See Tables 11 and 12.) However, some teachers did respond in a negative manner to the school climate items. In contrast, only two administrators at Site A responded negatively to one school climate item—'In this school students are not afraid of other students.' This trend could result from the teachers' close contact with the students or the failure of administrators to admit that the interaction of students, teachers and administrators is in need of improvement.

In summary, it appears that teachers and administrators may feel positive about the school environment yet disproportionate suspensions and expulsions for black students and males continue to exist. This may support the speculation that middle class teachers and administrators do not understand students from a different socio-economic status.

D. *School Adequacy*

Eighteen paper pencil questionnaire items were included to measure the administrators' perceptions of the adequacy of certain features of the school program. Administrators at Site A perceived extracurricular activities geared toward minority students and minority group courses as considerably inadequate. (See Table 13.) Table 14 indicates that administrators at Site B perceived as considerably inadequate, programs for tutoring low-achieving students. The aspects perceived as considerably inadequate tend to relate to "typical" disrupters, i.e., minorities and low-achievers. Programs to improve teacher intergroup relations, programs for gifted and talented students, programs to increase parent-teacher contact, the number of social workers, and the number of teacher aides were perceived as somewhat inadequate by administrators. Thus, administrators tend to perceive simultaneously, a positive school climate and certain school inadequacy features.

E. *Administrator and Teacher Perceptions of Interaction*

Both administrators and teachers rated various group and individual interactions on a five point scale ranging from open and warm to hostile. (See Tables 15-18.) Administrators tend to view the interaction in a positive manner. The only exception is the administrators' interaction with other

administrators. Six percent of the administrators at Site A perceived this interaction as distant and cool while Site B administrators viewed thirty-two percent of this interaction as distant and cool.

Teachers' perceptions were not as positive as administrators. Some negative perceptions were indicated in all categories. However, serious negative perceptions are indicated in the interaction of teachers and parents, teachers and the principal and black and white students. As with school climate, administrators perceive group and individual interaction in a more positive manner than teachers. Because the administrator is responsible for the school's climate, s(he) may feel the need to assert a positive perception for the various interactions. Teacher responses may be more indicative of the true measure of interaction. Negative interaction may well contribute to the disproportionate suspension and expulsion rate for black and male students.

F. *Teacher Attitudes About Race and Sex Differences on Selected Student Characteristics*

Teachers were asked for their honest opinion on differences between students based on race and sex. They were asked to utilize their personal experiences to respond to twelve questions about students they have taught. The responses are summarized in Tables 19 and 20.

Overall, racial differences were perceived to be more discriminating than sexual differences. White students were reported to be more active, better readers, better adjusted to school and more achievement oriented. Black students were reported to cause more trouble in class and to need more help from the teacher.

These trends may reflect a racist orientation on the part of the teacher or the reality of black student performance. Both speculations point to inequitable educational opportunities for black students. Inequitable educational opportunities for black students would contribute to disproportionality in school discipline.

G. *Teacher Attitudes Toward School Desegregation*

Table 21 indicates that a majority of teachers in both school sites oppose mandatory desegregation. Table 22 reports the teachers believe that desegregation benefits black students and other minorities but not white students. A large majority of teachers believe that discipline problems are increased with the desegregation of schools.

Finally, the surveyed teachers showed a high level of racial intolerance. Almost half state that they would not like to live in an integrated neighborhood and a majority feel that the amount of racial prejudice in our country is highly exaggerated. One-third believe Blacks and Whites should not be allowed to intermarry. As previously stated, any form of racist orientation would contribute to disproportionality in school discipline for black students. This disproportionality may be a subtle form of discrimination, a resistance against the massive busing of the past decades.

III. Conclusions

The results for the teachers and administrators are equivocal. The data warrants an extensive and detailed investigation.

The apparent racist orientation of some teachers is exhibited in the results of the anonymous paper-pencil questionnaire. A significant number of

teachers would not live in a desegregated neighborhood, did not favor mandatory school desegregation and felt that the problems of racial prejudice in the United States were exaggerated. In addition, the majority of teachers perceived white students to be academically and socially superior. If the teacher's perceptions are based on limited expectations for black students, then these teacher expectations are likely to be fulfilled. The fact that racial intolerance appears pervasive among the teachers may explain why many black students are disciplined for discretionary reasons.

Proportionately, Blacks suffer from the suspension and expulsion policies more than Whites. However, suspension and expulsion are not limited to a single segment of the school population. There are many Whites, particularly poor Whites, whose educational careers are ruined by these discipline sanctions (Yudof, p. 380).

Students are often suspended and expelled for minor violations of the hidden curriculum, such as failure to adhere to time schedules. Many administrators and teachers have not learned to deal with behavior problems. They feel pressure to suspend students at the first sign of trouble. Community pressure may support the reasoning behind the positive school climate index reported by administrators regardless of the school's race and/or sex disproportionality rate in discipline problems.

Table 1

Total Enrollments and Population of "Serious Disrupters" By Race for 1979-80 School Year

School	Total Population	Black Population	Per-cent	White Population	Per-cent	Total Disrupters	Black Disrupters	Per-cent	White Disrupters	Per-cent	Gini Index*
1A	1414	307	21.7	1107	78.3	43	14	32.6	29	67.4	.112
2A	1993	141	7.1	1852	92.9	84	12	14.3	72	85.7	.075
3A	1909	231	12.1	1678	87.9	76	21	27.6	55	72.4	.162
4A	1637	165	10.1	1472	89.9	50	12	24.0	38	76.0	.144
5A	1764	166	9.4	1598	90.6	69	34	49.3	35	50.7	.415
1B	1179	250	21.2	929	78.8	20	9	45.0	11	55.0	.242
2B	1078	129	12.0	949	88.0	17	6	35.3	11	64.7	.237
3B	2125	329	15.5	1796	84.5	29	13	44.8	16	55.2	.298
4B	1556	192	12.3	1364	87.7	55	17	30.9	38	69.1	.193
5B	1421	366	25.8	1055	74.2	159	46	28.9	113	71.1	.036
6B	1281	259	20.2	1022	79.8	82	25	30.5	57	69.5	.110

* The GINI Index of Dissimilarity indicates the percent of total disrupters that should be added to the white disrupters and subtracted from the black disrupters in order to reflect the school's black-white ratio.

Figure 1

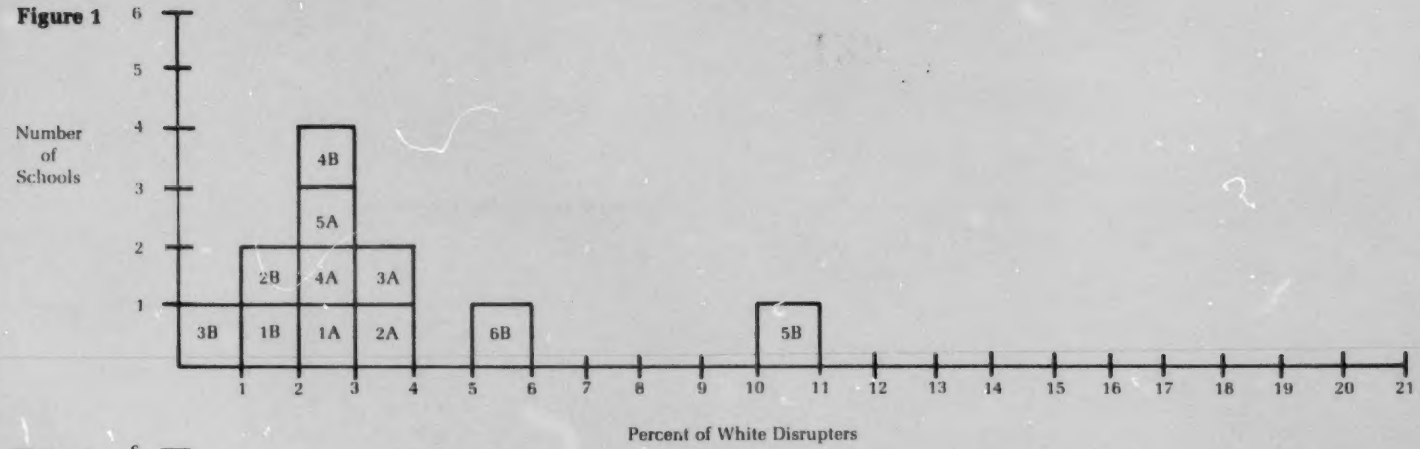

Figure 2

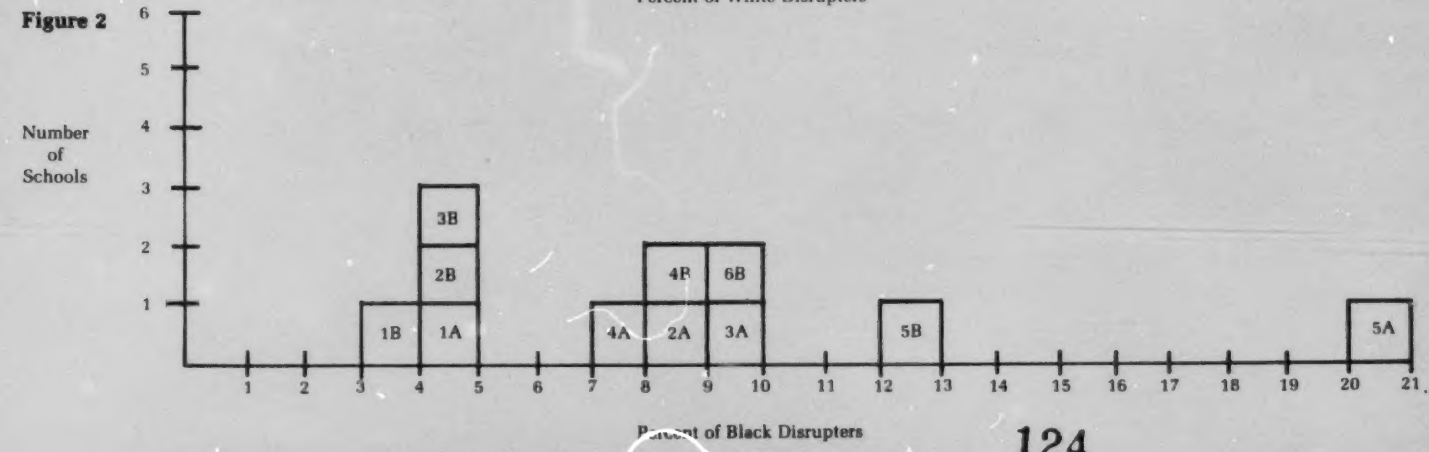

Table 2

Total Enrollments and Population of "Serious Disrupters" By Sex for 1979-80 School Year

School	Total Population	Male Population	Per-cent	Female Population	Per-cent	Total Disrupters	Male Disrupters	Per-cent	Female Disrupters	Per-cent	Gini Index*
1A	1414	717	50.7	697	49.3	43	29	67.4	14	32.6	.173
2A	1993	1022	51.3	971	48.7	84	50	59.5	34	40.5	.086
3A	1909	951	49.8	958	50.2	76	59	77.6	17	22.4	.290
4A	1637	856	52.3	781	47.7	50	39	78.0	11	22.0	.265
5A	1764	931	52.8	833	47.2	69	51	73.9	18	26.1	.220
1B	1179	620	52.6	559	47.4	20	11	55.0	9	45.0	.242
2B	1078	566	52.5	512	47.5	17	7	41.2	10	58.8	.115
3B	2125	1117	52.6	1008	47.4	29	23	79.3	6	20.7	.271
4B	1556	817	52.5	739	47.5	55	38	69.1	17	30.9	.172
5B	1421	724	51.0	697	49.0	159	100	62.9	59	37.1	.134
6B	1281	658	51.4	623	48.6	82	59	72.0	23	28.0	.225

* The GINI Index of Dissimilarity indicates the percent of total disrupters that should be added to the female disrupters and subtracted from the male disrupters, in order to reflect the school's male-female ratio.

Figure 3

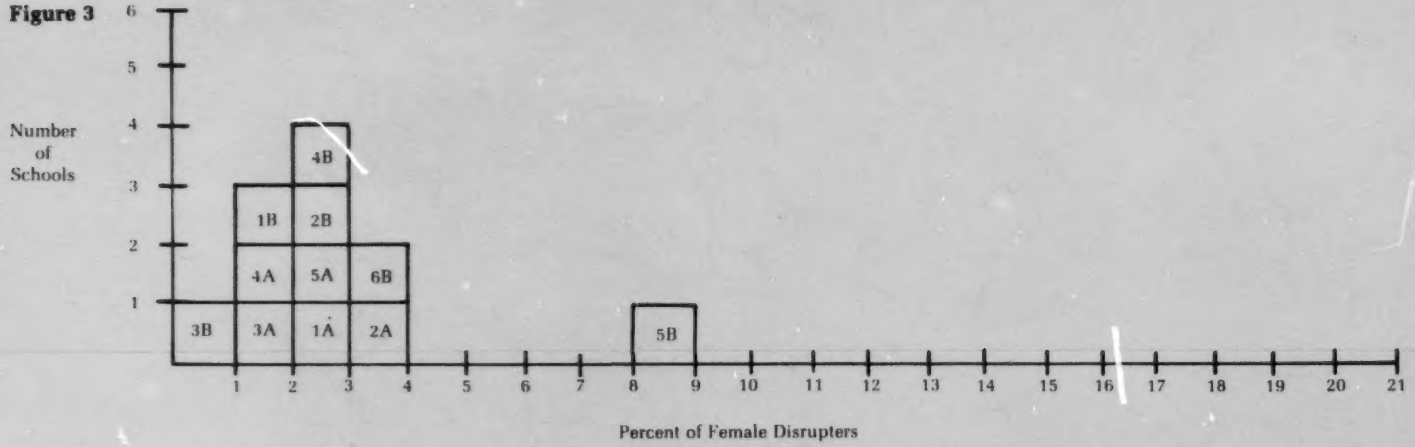

Figure 4

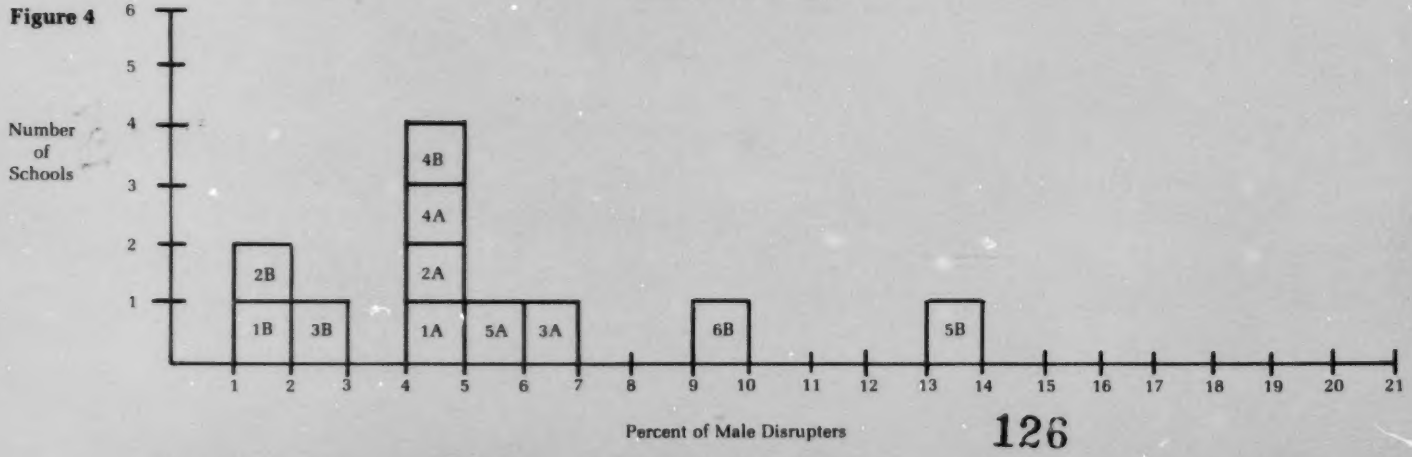

Table 3

Mean Scores for Teachers on the Institutional Power Index by Schools in Site B

School	N	$\bar{X}$	SD
1B	25	7.4000	2.4833
2B	19	7.1579	1.9512
3B	19	7.3684	2.5865
4B	18	7.3889	2.2788
5B	21	8.1429	3.2754
6B	18	6.6667	2.0864
Total	120	7.3750	2.4638

Analysis of Variance

	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between Groups	22.3493	5	4.4699	.6535	>.25
Within Groups	779.7966	114	6.8403		
Total	802.1459	119			

Table 4

Mean Scores for Teachers on the Grassroots Power Index by Schools in Site B

School	N	$\bar{X}$	SD
1B	25	18.2800	4.0673
2B	19	18.7368	2.8449
3B	19	17.6316	5.9368
4B	18	18.5000	3.0147
5B	21	18.0496	4.9546
6B	18	19.1111	5.6453
Total	120	18.3670	4.4038

Analysis of Variance

	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between Groups	25.461	5	5.0922	.2096	>.25
Within Groups	2769.5183	114	24.2940		
Total	2794.9793	119			

Table 5

Mean Scores for Teachers on the Institutional Power Index by Schools in Site A

School	N	$\bar{X}$	SD
1A	11	6.6364	2.0136
2A	12	5.2500	1.6026
3A	11	6.2727	2.0538
4A	7	6.7143	2.9841
5A	10	6.6000	3.0984
Total	51	6.2353	2.3116

Analysis of Variance

	SS	df	MS	F	p
Between Groups	16.3706	4	4.0927	.7506	.5627
Within Groups	250.8058	46	5.4523		
Total	267.1765	50			

Table 6

Mean Scores for Teachers on the Grassroots Power Index by Schools in Site A

School	N	$\bar{X}$	SD
1A	11	18.7273	5.0416
2A	12	18.9167	4.5017
3A	11	18.5455	2.5045
4A	7	20.1429	4.4508
5A	10	20.9000	2.1318
Total	51	19.3529	3.8514

Analysis of Variance

	SS	df	MS	F	p
Between Groups	42.0642	4	10.5160	.6915	.6015
Within Groups	699.5829	46	15.2083		
Total	741.6471	50			

Table 7

Mean Scores for Teachers on the Positive School Climate Index by Schools in Site B

School	N	$\bar{X}$	SD
1B	25	25.0400	5.7044
2B	19	19.8947	5.0979
3B	19	23.8421	5.2196
4B	18	23.7778	5.9166
5B	21	23.8571	5.2277
6B	18	24.6667	6.2309
Total	120	23.5833	5.5574

Analysis of Variance

	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between Groups	336.367	5	67.2734	1.7798	>.10
Within Groups	4308.9583	114	37.7979		
Total	4645.3253	119			

Table 8

Mean Scores for Teachers on the Positive School Climate Index by Schools in Site A

School	N	$\bar{X}$	SD
1A	11	28.2727	6.8131
2A	12	24.0000	6.1051
3A	11	20.3636	3.2641
4A	7	21.1429	7.0576
5A	10	25.9000	8.0891
Total	51	24.1176	6.7931

Analysis of Variance

	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between Groups	438.8097	4	109.7024	2.7008	.0420
Within Groups	1868.4844	46	40.6192		
Total	2307.2941	50			

Table 9

Administrators' Perceptions of School Climate (Site A)

	Almost Always	Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Don't Know
1. The principal is seen in the halls and cafeteria interacting with students and staff.	38.9% 7	33.3% 6	22.2% 4			5.6% 1
2. This school is a cheerful place.	83.3% 15	5.6% 1	11.1% 2			
3. People are friendly in this school.	83.3% 15	11.1% 2	5.6% 1			
4. When a student has a problem, it is easy to find help.	66.7% 12	27.8% 5	5.6% 1			
5. In this school teachers respect the students.	61.1% 11	33.3% 6	5.6% 1			
6. In this school students have respect for other students.	33.4% 6	66.7% 12				
7. In this school students have respect for the teachers.	44.4% 8	50.0% 9	5.6% 1			
8. People are honest and sincere in this school.	38.9% 7	55.6% 10	5.6% 1			
9. Students find this school to be an enjoyable experience.	50.0% 9	38.9% 7	11.1% 2			
10. In this school students are not afraid of other students.	33.3% 6	38.9% 7	16.7% 3	11.1% 2		
11. Students feel welcomed and accepted at this school.	50.0% 9	33.3% 6	16.7% 3			
12. The school provides a good learning environment.	72.2% 13	27.8% 5				

Table 10

Administrators' Perceptions of School Climate (Site B)

	Almost Always	Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Don't Know
1. The principal is seen in the halls and cafeteria interacting with students and staff.	10.5% 2	57.9% 11	31.6% 6			
2. This school is a cheerful place.	47.4% 9	47.4% 9	5.3% 1			
3. People are friendly in this school.	57.9% 11	36.8% 7	5.3% 1			
4. When a student has a problem, it is easy to find help.	52.6% 10	47.4% 9				
5. In this school teachers respect the students.	26.3% 5	57.9% 11	15.8% 3			
6. In this school students have respect for other students.	36.8% 7	42.1% 8	21.1% 4			
7. In this school students have respect for the teachers.	36.8% 7	52.6% 10	10.5% 2			
8. People are honest and sincere in this school.	42.1% 8	47.4% 9	10.5% 2			
9. Students find this school to be an enjoyable experience.	15.8% 3	68.4% 13	15.8% 3			
10. In this school students are not afraid of other students.	57.9% 11	26.3% 5	15.8% 3			
11. Students feel welcomed and accepted at this school.	36.8% 7	57.9% 11	5.3% 1			
12. The school provides a good learning place.	57.9% 11	36.8% 7	5.3% 1			

Table 11

Teachers' Perceptions of School Climate (Site A)

	Almost Always	Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Don't Know
1. The principal is seen in the halls and cafeteria interacting with students and staff.	15.7% 8	54.9% 28	21.6% 11	3.9% 2	3.9% 2	
2. This school is a cheerful place.	31.4% 16	52.9% 27	11.8% 6	3.9% 2		
3. People are friendly in this school.	58.8% 30	31.4% 16	9.8% 5			
4. When a student has a problem, it is easy to find help.	39.2% 20	39.2% 20	19.6% 10	2.0% 1		
5. In this school teachers respect the students.	49.0% 25	29.4% 15	21.6% 11			
6. In this school students have respect for other students.	13.7% 7	51.0% 26	23.5% 12	9.8% 5	2.0% 1	
7. In this school students have respect for the teachers.	17.6% 9	41.2% 21	29.4% 15	9.8% 5	2.0% 1	
8. People are honest and sincere in this school.	23.5% 12	49.0% 25	25.5% 13	2.0% 1		
9. Students find this school to be an enjoyable experience.	9.8% 5	62.7% 32	19.6% 10	5.9% 3	2.0% 1	
10. In this school students are not afraid of other students.	35.3% 18	23.5% 12	27.5% 14	13.7% 7		
11. Students feel welcomed and accepted at this school.	23.5% 12	56.9% 29	17.6% 9	2.0% 1		
12. The school provides a good learning environment.	51.0% 26	35.3% 18	11.8% 6		2.0% 1	

Table 12

Teachers' Perceptions of School Climate (Site B)

	Almost Always	Often	Some-times	Seldom	Almost Never	Don't Know
1. The principal is seen in the halls and cafeteria interacting with students and staff.	7.9% 10	35.4% 45	32.3% 41	11.8% 15	10.2% 13	2.4% 3
2. This school is a cheerful place.	37.0% 47	44.1% 56	15.7% 20	0.8% 1	0.8% 1	1.6% 2
3. People are friendly in this school.	44.9% 57	37.8% 48	11.8% 15	1.6% 2	0.8% 1	3.1% 4
4. When a student has a problem, it is easy to find help.	32.3% 41	40.9% 52	19.7% 25	3.9% 5		3.1% 4
5. In this school teachers respect the students.	41.7% 53	37.8% 48	16.5% 21		0.8% 1	3.1% 4
6. In this school students have respect for other students.	13.4% 17	53.5% 68	27.6% 35	3.1% 4	0.8% 1	1.6% 2
7. In this school students have respect for the teachers.	19.7% 25	51.2% 65	23.6% 30	3.1% 4	0.8% 1	1.6% 2
8. People are honest and sincere in this school.	24.4% 31	49.6% 63	18.9% 24	3.9% 5		3.1% 4
9. Students find this school to be an enjoyable experience.	10.2% 13	55.1% 70	29.1% 37	3.1% 4		2.4% 3
10. In this school students are not afraid of other students.	33.9% 43	38.6% 49	18.9% 24	4.7% 6	1.6% 2	2.4% 3
11. Students feel welcomed and accepted at this school.	32.1% 42	44.9% 57	20.5% 26			1.6% 2
12. The school provides a good learning environment.	48.0% 61	41.7% 53	7.1% 9	0.8% 1		2.4% 3

Table 13

Administrators' Perceptions of School Adequacy (Site A)

	More Than Adequate	Adequate	Somewhat Inadequate	Considerably Inadequate	Do Not Have	Don't Know
1. Guidance counselors	27.8% 5	55.6% 10	16.7% 3			
2. Social workers	5.6% 1	22.2% 4	44.4% 8	11.1% 2	16.7% 3	
3. Teacher aides		44.4% 8	50.0% 9	5.6% 1		
4. Remedial reading programs	27.8% 5	44.4% 8	27.8% 5			
5. Vocational training courses	38.9% 7	38.9% 7	22.2% 4			
6. Minority group or culture courses		11.1% 2	33.3% 6	22.2% 4	33.3% 6	
7. Classrooms for underachievers	22.2% 4	27.8% 5	16.7% 3	16.7% 3	5.6% 1	11.1% 2
8. Classrooms for socially or emotionally maladjusted	22.2% 4	33.3% 6	22.2% 4	5.6% 1	16.7% 3	
9. Achievement grouping	16.7% 3	66.7% 12	5.6% 1	11.1% 2		
10. Major curriculum revisions	16.7% 3	50.0% 9	16.7% 3	11.1% 2	5.6% 1	
11. Extracurricular activities geared toward minority students.	5.6% 1	22.2% 4	22.2% 4	22.2% 4	16.7% 3	11.1% 2
12. Late bus for students who stay late for extracurricular activities	22.2% 4	50.0% 9	16.7% 3		11.1% 2	
13. Programs for tutoring low-achieving students	11.1% 2	44.4% 8	38.9% 7		5.6% 1	
14. Programs for gifted and talented students	11.1% 2	33.3% 6	44.4% 6	5.6% 1	5.6% 1	
15. Programs to increase parent-teacher contact		44.4% 8	38.9% 7	11.1% 2	5.6% 1	
16. Programs to improve teacher intergroup relations		33.3% 6	27.8% 5	16.7% 3	16.7% 3	5.6% 1
17. Student bi-racial advisory committee		27.8% 5	33.3% 6	11.1% 2	16.7% 3	11.1% 2
18. Equipment for student use		50.0% 9	38.9% 7	5.6% 1		5.6% 1

Table 14

Administrators' Perceptions of School Adequacy (Site B)

	More Than Adequate	Adequate	Somewhat Inadequate	Considerably Inadequate	Do Not Have	Don't Know
1. Guidance counselors	15.8% 3	57.9% 11	26.3% 5			
2. Social workers	15.8% 3	15.8% 3	42.1% 8	5.3% 1	21.1% 4	
3. Teacher aides	5.3% 1	73.7% 14	10.5% 2		10.5% 2	
4. Remedial reading programs	5.3% 1	47.4% 9	26.3% 5	5.3% 1	15.8% 3	
5. Vocational training courses	36.8% 7	63.2% 12				
6. Minority group or culture courses	5.3% 1	47.4% 9	21.1% 4		26.3% 5	
7. Classrooms for underachievers	21.1% 4	68.4% 13	10.5% 2			
8. Classrooms for socially or emotionally maladjusted	15.8% 3	57.9% 11	10.5% 2	5.3% 1	10.5% 2	
9. Achievement grouping	10.5% 2	68.4% 13	5.3% 1		15.8% 3	
10. Major curriculum revisions	10.5% 2	73.7% 14	15.8% 3			
11. Extracurricular activities geared toward minority students	21.1% 4	57.9% 11	15.8% 3	5.3% 1		
12. Late bus for students who stay late for extracurricular activities	15.8% 3	15.8% 3	15.8% 3	5.3% 1	47.4% 9	
13. Programs for tutoring low-achieving students		31.6% 6	31.6% 6	15.8% 3	21.1% 4	
14. Programs for gifted and talented students	5.3% 1	36.8% 7	47.4% 9	10.5% 2		
15. Programs to increase parent-teacher contact	5.3% 1	52.6% 10	26.3% 5	5.3% 1	10.5% 2	
16. Programs to improve teacher intergroup relations		42.1% 8	42.1% 8	10.5% 2	5.3% 1	
17. Student bi-racial advisory committee		36.8% 7	26.3% 5	5.3% 1	15.8% 3	15.8% 3
18. Equipment for student use	5.3% 1	31.6% 6	26.3% 5			36.8% 7

Table 15

Administrators' Perceptions of Interaction (Site A)

	Open, Warm	Friendly	Polite	Distant, Cool	Hostile	Don't Know
1. You and the administrative staff.	22.2% 4	27.8% 5	38.9% 7	5.6% 1		5.6% 1
2. You and the black teachers	77.8% 14	16.7% 3	5.6% 1			
3. You and the white teachers	72.2% 13	27.8% 5				
4. You and the parents of your black students	66.7% 12	33.3% 6				
5. You and the parents of your white students.	50.0% 9	44.4% 8	5.6% 1			
6. You and the black students	50.0% 9	44.4% 8	5.6% 1			
7. You and the white students	55.6% 10	38.9% 7	5.6% 1			
8. Black teachers and white teachers	55.6% 10	38.9% 7	5.6% 1			
9. Black students and white students	38.9% 7	38.9% 7	11.1% 2			11.1% 2

Table 16

Administrators' Perceptions of Interaction (Site B)

	Open, Warm	Friendly	Polite	Distant, Cool	Hostile	Don't Know
1. You and the administrative staff	5.3% 1	31.6% 6	21.1% 4	31.6% 6		10.5% 2
2. You and the black teachers	84.2% 16	15.8% 3				
3. You and the white teachers	73.7% 14	21.1% 4				5.3% 1
4. You and the parents of your black students	73.7% 14	26.3% 5				
5. You and the parents of your white students	57.9% 11	42.1% 8				
6. You and the black students	57.9% 11	42.1% 8				
7. You and the white students	68.4% 13	26.3% 5	5.3% 1			
8. Black teachers and white teachers	68.4% 13	26.3% 5	5.3% 1			
9. Black students and white students	57.9% 11	36.8% 7				5.3% 1

Table 17

Teachers' Perceptions of Interaction (Site A)

	Open, Warm	Friendly	Polite	Distant, Cool	Hostile	Don't Know
1. You and the principal	47.1% 24	37.3% 19	9.8% 5	3.9% 2		2.0% 1
2. You and the black teachers	39.2% 20	52.9% 27	5.9% 3			2.0% 1
3. You and the white teachers	47.1% 24	51.0% 26	2.0% 1			
4. You and the parents of your black students	9.8% 5	58.8% 30	13.7% 7	9.8% 5		7.8% 4
5. You and the parents of your white students	11.8% 6	58.8% 30	15.7% 8	7.8% 4		5.9% 3
6. The principal and the teachers	41.2% 21	45.1% 23	9.8% 5	2.0% 1		2.0% 1
7. The principal and black students	33.3% 17	51.0% 26	7.8% 4	3.9% 2		3.9% 2
8. The principal and white students	33.3% 17	54.9% 28	9.8% 5			2.0% 1
9. Black teachers and white teachers	21.6% 11	60.8% 31	13.7% 7	2.0% 1		2.0% 1
10. Black students and white students	11.8% 6	59.8% 30	17.6% 9	3.9% 2	5.9% 3	2.0% 1

Table 18

Teachers' Perceptions of Interaction (Site B)

	Open, Warm	Friendly	Polite	Distant, Cool	Hostile	Don't Know
1. You and the principal	36.2% 46	40.2% 51	15.0% 19	2.4% 3	2.4% 3	3.9% 5
2. You and the black teachers	33.9% 43	48.0% 61	13.4% 17	0.8% 1		3.9% 5
3. You and the white teachers	42.5% 54	49.6% 63	1.6% 2	0.8% 1	0.8% 1	4.7% 6
4. You and the parents of your black students	7.9% 10	50.4% 64	27.6% 35	8.7% 11		5.5% 7
5. You and the parents of your white students	9.4% 12	52.8% 67	29.1% 37	3.9% 5		4.7% 6
6. The principal and the teachers	19.7% 25	48.8% 62	24.4% 31		1.6% 2	5.5% 7
7. The principal and black students	18.1% 23	50.4% 64	18.9% 24	4.7% 6		7.9% 10
8. The principal and white students	18.9% 24	50.4% 64	19.7% 25	2.4% 3	0.8% 1	7.9% 10
9. Black teachers and white students	22.8% 29	58.3% 74	12.6% 16	1.6% 2		4.7% 6
10. Black students and white students	11.8% 15	46.5% 59	21.3% 27	13.4% 17	0.8% 1	6.3% 8

Table 19

Summary of Teacher Perceptions About Race and Sex Differences on Selected Student Characteristics (Site A)

	Black Males	White Males	No Difference	Black Females	White Females	No Difference
1. Who are more active?	5.9% 3	64.7% 33	29.4% 15	7.8% 4	52.9% 27	39.2% 20
2. Who read better?	9.8% 5	66.7% 34	23.5% 12	9.8% 5	64.7% 33	25.5% 13
3. Who are better musically?	17.6% 9	31.4% 16	51.0% 26	2.0% 1	27.5% 14	70.6% 36
4. Who are not athletic?	23.5% 12	9.8% 5	66.7% 34	23.5% 12	17.6% 9	58.8% 30
5. Who are better adjusted to school?	5.9% 3	45.1% 23	49.0% 25	7.8% 4	49.0% 25	43.1% 22
6. Who are quicker to catch on to new concepts?	7.8% 4	43.1% 22	49.0% 25	11.8% 6	41.2% 21	47.1% 24
7. Who are generally more attentive in class?	7.8% 4	39.2% 20	52.9% 27	9.8% 5	43.1% 22	47.1% 24
8. Who do you like to teach better?	5.9% 3	17.6% 9	76.5% 39	7.8% 4	21.6% 11	70.6% 36
9. Who get along better socially?	2.0% 1	33.3% 17	64.7% 33	2.0% 1	33.3% 17	64.7% 33
10. Who are more achievement oriented?	5.9% 3	70.6% 36	23.5% 12	7.8% 4	58.8% 30	33.3% 17
11. Who causes more trouble in class?	21.6% 11	5.9% 3	72.5% 37	21.6% 11	9.8% 5	68.6% 35
12. Who needs more help from you?	25.5% 13	2.0% 1	72.5% 37	29.4% 15	2.0% 1	68.6% 35

Table 20

Summary of Teacher Perceptions About Race and Sex Differences on Selected Student Characteristics (Site B)

	Black Males	White Males	No Difference	Black Females	White Females	No Difference
1. Who are more active?	13.4% 17	45.7% 58	40.9% 52	15.0% 19	31.5% 40	53.5% 68
2. Who read better?	1.6% 2	85.8% 109	12.6% 16	2.4% 3	75.6% 96	22.0% 28
3. Who are better musically?	5.5% 7	35.4% 45	59.1% 75	9.4% 12	28.3% 36	62.2% 79
4. Who are not athletic?	0.8% 1	15.0% 19	84.3% 107	3.1% 4	15.7% 20	81.1% 103
5. Who are better adjusted to school?	0.8% 1	52.8% 67	46.5% 59	0.8% 1	50.4% 64	48.8 62
6. Who are quicker to catch on to new concepts?	0.8% 1	44.9% 57	54.3% 69	0.8% 1	48.8% 62	50.4% 64
7. Who are generally more attentive in class?	2.4% 3	49.6% 63	48.0% 61	0.8% 1	41.7% 53	57.5% 73
8. Who do you like to teach better?	0.8% 1	15.7% 20	83.5% 106	0.8% 1	15.0% 19	84.3% 107
9. Who get along better socially?	3.1% 4	22.8% 29	74.0% 94	0.8% 1	26.8% 34	72.4% 92
10. Who are more achievement oriented?	1.6% 2	72.4% 92	26.0% 33	0.8% 1	66.9% 85	32.3% 41
11. Who causes more trouble in class?	27.6% 35	2.4% 3	70.1% 89	33.9% 43	3.9% 5	62.2% 79
12. Who needs more help from you?	42.5% 54	55.1% 70	2.4% 3	44.1% 56	0.8% 1	55.1% 70

Table 21

Summary of Teacher Opinion Regarding Mandatory Desegregation of Schools

	Favor	Oppose	Don't Know
Site A	18 35.3%	32 62.7%	1 2%
Site B	59 46.5%	65 51.2%	3 2.4%

Table 22

Summary of Teacher Responses to Selected Statements About School Desegregation and Race Relations

	Site A			Site B		
	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
1. Desegregation provides a better education for Blacks and other minorities.	43.1% 22	19.6% 10	37.3% 19	61.4% 78	22.0% 28	16.5% 21
2. Desegregation provides a better education for Whites.	11.8% 6	51.0% 26	37.3% 19	35.4% 45	44.1% 56	20.5% 26
3. Desegregation risks the safety of students.	27.5% 14	54.9% 28	17.6% 9	18.9% 24	63.0% 80	18.1% 23
4. Desegregation increases discipline problems.	54.9% 28	27.5% 14	17.6% 9	52.8% 67	33.1% 42	14.2% 18
5. Desegregation improves students' personal relationships and cultural understandings.	51.0% 26	23.5% 12	25.5% 13	65.4% 83	17.3% 22	17.3% 22
6. The amount of prejudice against minority groups in this country is highly exaggerated.	52.9% 27	41.2% 21	5.9% 3	52.8% 67	40.2% 51	7.1% 9
7. I would like to live in an integrated neighborhood.	41.2% 21	49.0% 25	9.8% 5	50.4% 64	42.5% 54	7.1% 9
8. The civil rights movement has done more good than harm.	47.1% 24	47.1% 24	5.9% 3	66.1% 84	29.9% 38	3.9% 5
9. Blacks and Whites should not be allowed to intermarry.	37.3% 19	54.9% 28	7.8% 4	28.3% 36	66.1% 84	5.5% 7

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MINORITY STUDENT SUSPENSION: A QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

By

Camilla A. Heid
A. Reynaldo Contreras

Introduction

Desegregation of schools is an attempt to provide equality of educational opportunity. If black students are absent at a disproportionate rate, due to suspension, then the goal of desegregation is at least partially defeated. Statistics indicate that suspension and expulsion do indeed have a disproportionate impact on black students.[1]

Suspension solves problems for teachers and administrators but only at the expense of those who look to the school for social and economic advancement. This is all the more problematic when it occurs in a desegregated school setting, thwarting the very expectations which are central to integration. Yet, suspension is an accepted reaction to disruptive students.

The federal government enacted the Emergency School Aid Act to assist school personnel, students, parents and concerned community residents in their efforts to successfully integrate their schools. Special Student Concerns Projects are included among the numerous programs authorized to receive financial assistance under the provisions of the Act. "Special Student Concerns Projects are those projects operated by public agencies other than local public school systems which were designed to eliminate the disporportionately high incidence of suspension, expulsion and other disciplinary action involving minority group students in the schools of the desegregating public school system."[2] The United States Department of Education funded twenty studies (See Table 1) through the Special Student Concerns Office during the period 1974-1979.

In our research, we utilized twelve of the twenty studies. The school was the basic unit of analysis in the majority of reports. The Louisiana study was eliminated by its use of the parish rather than the individual school as its unit of analysis. Seven studies (Broward County, Jackson State University, Massachusetts Department of Education, Old Dominion University of Virginia, Rhode Island Department of Education, University of Michigan—Program for Educational Opportunity, and University of South Alabama), not yet completed, were also eliminated from my research. The final N consisted of 139 schools

The individual schools that participated in the studies were found to differ considerably from one another in a number of important aspects—size of the school, percent of black students, percent of suspended students etc. Issues which appear to be problematic in some schools appear to be less so in others.

Because so many factors—leadership, school climate etc., appear to contribute to the disproportionate suspension of black students, I chose to isolate the quantitative suspension data available in all the studies. The statistical approach to the data involved the correlation of the GINI Index of Dissimilarity with the total population, percent of the black population, percent of student suspensions and percent of black suspensions as well as the correlations of the percent of the black population with the percent of black suspensions and the percent of student suspensions. Finally, the research procedure involved an analysis of the "outliers" using the case study method.

Quantification of Effects

A simple statistic was desired that would describe the relationship between the percent of black students suspended and the percent of the black population in that school. The eventual measure of relationship selected for the study was the GINI Index of Dissimilarity.

$$X = \frac{(\#\text{ of Black Susp})(\text{White Population}) - (\#\text{ of White Susp})(\text{Black Population})}{\text{Total Population}}$$

$$\text{GINI Index of Dissimilarity} = \frac{X}{\#\text{ of Total Suspensions}}$$

The resulting measures are in a common metric which may be utilized across studies.

The GINI Index of Dissimilarity assumes that the total suspension rate for the individual school is appropriate. The GINI Index indicates the percent of the total suspended students that should be added to the number of suspended students in the majority group and subtracted from the number of suspended students in the minority group. The new figures represent the black and white student composition of the school.

Statistical Analysis

Figure 1 provides a histogram representing the distribution of the GINI Index of Dissimilarity for the 139 schools. The majority of the schools exhibit a GINI Index between .02 and .44. The histogram reveals several outliers. Schools with a negative index show a slight disproportionality in the suspension of white students. Several schools appear to be exemplary in their suspension of students with GINI Indices ranging from −.04 to .04. Three extreme schools on the opposite end of the histogram, with GINI Indices of .549, .566 and .675, respectively, represent units with high levels of disproportionality in the suspension of black students.

Figure 2 identifies the mean and standard deviation for the percent of white and black student populations ($\bar{X}_{WPOP}$= .733 and SD_{WPOP}= .183; $\bar{X}_{BPOP}$= .268 and SD_{BPOP}= .170). Three times as many white students as black students were enrolled in the schools that participated in the studies.

Figure 3 illustrates the relationship between the percent of black suspensions and the percent of white suspensions ($\bar{X}_{WSUSP}$= .524 and SD_{WSUSP}= .163; $\bar{X}_{BSUSP}$= .476 and SD_{BSUSP}= .199). Ideally, Figures 2 and 3 should be identical. However, in Figure 3, the curves almost coincide, indicating not much difference in the overall suspension rates for black and white students.

Therefore, the racial composition of the student population which is approximately one-fourth Black and three-fourths white is not represented in the suspension rate.

The relationship between the percent of the black population and the percent of black suspensions is illustrated in Figure 4. Figure 5 illustrates a similar relationship for the white population. However, the curves are reversed, Blacks are overrepresented by suspension while whites are underrepresented. Overall, blacks students were suspended almost twice as many times as their representation in the school enrollment. White students received approximately two-thirds of the suspensions representative of their school enrollment.

Correlation coefficients were computed for a number of the variables. The results are tabulated in Table 2. The correlation of the GINI Index with the total population, the percent of the black population and the percent of total suspensions is low ($r = .1025$; $r = -.1354$; and $r = .0378$), indicating that there is little or no relationship between these variables. There is a slight positive relationship between the percent of the black population and the percent of total suspensions ($r = .2937$) indicating that as the percent of total suspensions increases, the percent of the black population will increase. There appears to be a stronger yet somewhat moderate relationship between the percent of the black population and the percent of black suspensions ($r = .7628$), indicating that as the black suspension rate increases, the black population rate will increase. A moderate, direct relationship exists between the GINI Index and the percent of black suspensions ($r = .5370$), indicating that as the percent of black suspensions increases so will the GINI Index.

Correlation coefficients describe or measure the relationship between variables. They are indicators of relationships between variables that need further investigation. These correlation coefficients cannot be accepted without some warning—the presence of a correlation between variables can be helpful in identifying causal relationships when coupled with other methodological approaches. However, when used alone, it is a potentially dangerous and misleading test for causation. "First, even when one can presume that a causal relationship does exist between the two variables being correlated, r_{xy} can tell nothing by itself about whether X causes Y or Y causes X. Second, often variables other than the two under consideration are responsible for the observed association. Third, the relationships that exist among variables in education and the social sciences are almost always too complex to be explained in terms of a single cause."[3]

By squaring the Pearson r or correlation coefficient, another statistic is generated, denoted by r^2. "Actually, r^2 is a more easily interpreted measure of association when our concern is with strength of relationship rather than direction of the relationship. Its usefulness derives from the fact that r^2 is a measure of the portion of variance in one variable explained by the other."[4] According to Table 2, the percent of black suspensions accounts for about 29 percent of the variance in the GINI Index while the percent of the black population accounts for about 58 percent of the variance in the percent of black suspensions.

The scatter diagrams of the relationships between the GINI Index and the percent of the black population, percent of total suspensions, percent of black suspensions and the total population are represented in Figures 6, 7, 8 and 9

respectively. From the diagrams, it is readily visible why a linear relationship is moderate in Figure 8 and little or no linear relationship exists in the remaining figures.

Figure 6 illustrates the relationship between the GINI Index and the percent of the black population. The schools tend to cluster with black populations of 5 to 30 percent and a GINI Index between .05 and .40. The outliers with low GINI Indices are scattered along the continuum of percents for the black population while schools with high GINI Indices have black populations of less than 32 percent.

The relationship between the GINI Index and the percent of total suspensions is illustrated in Figure 7. This distribution of schools is similar to that in Figure 6. The six outliers with high GINI Indices remain the same. Their percent of total suspensions does not vary greatly from the percent of the black population.

The scatter diagram (Figure 8) showing the relationship between the percent of black suspensions and the GINI Index displays a moderate linear relationship. A prediction equation using simple linear regression techniques can be generated for this relationship.

$$Y = .04008 + .35266(X)$$

is the form of the prediction equation. If the value of either variable is known, the other can be calculated from the equation. Without the prediction equation, the best estimate of the unknown variable is its mean.

Figure 9 illustrates the relationship between the total population and the GINI Index. No linear relationship is indicated. The schools which exhibit high disproportionality have student enrollments between 500 and 1300, while the schools with low disproportionality range in size from 400 to 2700.

The relationship between the percent of black suspensions and the percent of the black population is shown in Figure 10. Figure 10 presents the stronger linear relationship found between the studied variables. The prediction equation generated by linear regression is

$$Y = -.04248 + .65108(X).$$

The increase in black suspensions as the black population increases is an expected outcome.

Finally Figure 11 is a scatter diagram illustrating the relationship between the percent of the black population with [illegible] percent of total suspensions. The schools tend to cluster with a percent of total suspensions between 2 and 40 percent and a GINI Index between .05 and .30. According to the figure, the schools with the highest percent of total suspensions are not the schools with the highest or lowest levels of disproportionality.

Case Studies

Two schools, one with high disproportionality in the suspension of minority students and one with low disproportionality were selected for use in the case studies. The variables studied at each site will be different because the studies were conducted by different agencies. The case studies are constructed through the use of data gathered at the time of that specific Special Student Concerns Project.

In previous case studies on effective urban schools, these factors emerged as major in the study: personnel, instruction, parent involvement and school environment. These factors appeared to be critical in the case studies of disproportionality in the suspension of minority students.

Case Study One

The school with the highest GINI Index is a school included in the study at the University of Oklahoma. In the 1979-80 school year, this school had a total enrollment of 1356. Two hundred sixty-one students were black (19.2%) while 1095 students were white (80.8%). There were 120 students (8.8%) suspended during that year. One hundred four suspended students (86.7%) were black while 16 suspended students (13.3%) were white. The GINI Index for this school was .675, indicating that 67.5% or 81 more black students were suspended and 81 fewer white students were suspended than should have been to represent the student population with an 8.8% total suspension rate.

A questionnaire of 39 items (problems at school) was administered to a random sample of students, teachers and administrators. The following items were considered serious by the students:

1. Students stealing personal property.
2. Students possessing, using buying or selling drugs during school hours or at approved school functions.
3. Too many absences.
4. Students damaging students' property.
5. Students stealing school property.
6. Students having a "don't care" attitude.
7. Students not showing respect for authority.

A large number of items (32) not rated as serious problems at school indicates that the school, as perceived by students, is relatively problem free, or their standards or conditions necessary for a problem to be considered serious are not the same as standards used by teachers and administrators. The teachers and administrators classified 19 items as serious. In addition to the items considered serious by the students, the following items were included:

1. Students driving cars in an unsafe manner near the school.
2. Students using vulgar words or gestures.
3. Students coming to class late.
4. Students drinking alcoholic beverages during school hours or at approved school functions.
5. Students disrupting class by talking excessively or loudly.
6. Students coming to class without paper, pencil or books.
7. Parents not encouraging good study habits at home.
8. Parents not coming to school until their child is in trouble.
9. Teachers not consistent in administration of rules and discipline.
10. Students knowing the rules but choosing not to comply with them.
11. Students lacking school pride.
12. Too many people in the halls after classes have started.

A problem is suggested by these data that teachers and administrators and students "do not agree on the type of activities, or the level of interference

that can be tolerated before the interference becomes an educational problem."[5] This suggests that students should be given the opportunity to learn that unproductive activities interfere with their education. For teachers and administrators, these data suggest a need to reevaluate expectations of students and to set behavioral expectations in line with the students' developmental level.

The race of the respondents provided no significant difference in the perception of problems. Black and white students do not differ nor do white and black teachers and administrators. "This would indicate that activities designed to solve in-school problems may be directed toward the total student body rather than dealing with specific programs for racial groups."[6]

Neither teachers, administrators nor students believe that there is serious fighting among students, racial conflicts during school hours, or lack of information about school rules. The students emphasized that they valued the teachers but not the campus security. Several students valued their lockers but resented the fact that they needed repair weekly, which may account for the serious problems—stolen and damaged student property. Faculty and administrators value the support of the administration, open communication between faculty and administrators and the harmony existing between the black and white students.

Twenty students randomly selected by race, sex, grade level and disrupter or non-disrupter as well as 10 teachers randomly selected by grade level, teaching area, race and sex were interviewed. They were asked the following 5 questions:

1. What was the teacher doing just prior to the incident?
2. What did the student offender do?
3. What are some techniques used to maintain good discipline?
4. How would you handle referrals if you were an administrator?
5. What are some things you feel would help to improve the handling of discipline?

Out of the 30 interviews, the response to the first question was that the teacher was involved in some aspect of the teaching-learning process. Four of the students reported disruptive incidents in classrooms with substitute teachers.

The majority of responses to question number 2—"What did the student offender do?"—was that the student was loud and disrupting class. Several of the responses referred to the student as a "special education student." Smoking, drugs and alcohol were violations witnessed by the respondents.

The student suggestions for maintaining discipline included: more defined rules; consistent enforcement of rules; principal visibility; and more extra-curricular activities. The teachers believed maintaining discipline involved an organized schedule and lesson plans; fair and consistent standards; and parental contact.

Overall, teachers felt the referral procedure was adequate and should not be changed. Students felt parents should be more involved in the referral process. This may indicate that there is little communication between parents and the school until the problems are serious.

In order to improve discipline, the students felt the school could be more strict, especially with truancy and more vocational-technical courses should

be offered. Teachers felt discipline would improve if teachers were consistent in enforcing school rules. The removal of delays in the placement of special education students was cited by the teachers as a method to improve discipline.

In conclusion, positive components of the factors that consistently emerge in the case studies of effective urban schools are missing in the case study of this particular school. First, in the area of personnel, the principal should become more visible and the school rules must be enforced consistently by all teachers and administrators. More extra-curricular activities and vocational-technical courses are required to meet the student needs. Parental involvement is required in the school prior to student discipline problems. Finally, aspects of the school environment which reflect the nondisciplined society from which the students come should be altered to represent a disciplined society.

Case Study Two

One site in Indiana University's Special Student Concerns Project was selected as the exemplary school to be utilized in the case study. The school enrolled 1421 students during the 1979-80 school year. Three hundred sixty-six (25.8%) of the students were black while 1055 (74.2%) were white. Four hundred seventy-seven (33.6%) of the students were suspended during the school year. Black students accounted for 138 (28.9%) of the suspended students while white students accounted for 339 (71.1%) of the suspensions. The GINI Index was .031, indicating suspended black students were overrepresented by 3.1% or 5 students while white students were underrepresented by that figure.

The explanation exists that the level of student withdrawal is highest in schools where disproportionality is lowest. However, the Indiana State Department of Public Instruction figures on student withdrawals do not support this conclusion for this school. The number one reason for withdrawal was disinterest in the curriculum.

The total suspension rate may be high because the school is working hard to retain students who might otherwise drop out at age sixteen. Retention of these students may increase their discipline problems.

An often perceived factor which is used to explain the disproportionate number of black students disciplined in desegregated schools is school busing. The natural integration of the school alleviates some of the problems associated with "court ordered" desegregation such as low levels of school pride or parental involvement. This school had the lowest number of bused students in the corporation.

Socioeconomic variables are also assumed related to student discipline. None of the tested variables appeared to be significantly different, with a few exceptions. This school had the highest incidence of broken homes and the lowest attendance at PTA meetings.

After a factor analysis of the questionnaire, three self indices emerged: Fatalism, Dislike School and Unfair Punishment. Fatalism or a feeling of lack of personal control over the environment was relatively low. The Dislike School Index was not significant in the school corporation. According to the Unfair Punishment Index, these students do not feel their punishment is

unfair. In summary, the students feel they have control over their environment and that punishment they receive is justified.

Two power indices were analyzed. Institutional Power represents the influence of the school board, superintendent and the principal. Grassroots Power represents the influence of the self, students and parents. At this cite, teachers revealed a high Institutional Power Index, while students displayed a high level of grassroots power. This reinforces the concept that students feel they have control of their environment, they can initiate change. The high Institutional Power Index for teachers may indicate support from administrators.

The School Climate Index for the students was highest at this school when compared to others in the corporation. There was no significant difference on the School Climate Index for teachers by schools in the corporation. Administrators view school climate in a positive manner, no matter what the level of disproportionality.

Among the schools in the study, this particular school had the highest index on both Interracial Environment and Interracial Friendship. The Interracial Environment Index measures the students' and school's support for an interracial social environment. The Index of Interracial Friendship measures interracial relations of a more personal nature such as phone conversations, seeking help on homework and the desire for friends of a different race. The high scores may indicate reasons for little interracial conflict at school. This in turn, may partially account for the low level of disproportionality.

In conclusion, several factors appear to be responsible for the low level of disproportionality. The teacher's perception of administrative support, the influence of parents and students on change in the school and the positive school climate are three major elements which contribute to the representative suspension rate.

Conclusion

Proportionately, Blacks suffer from the suspension and expulsion policies more than whites. "However, suspension and expulsion are not limited to a single segment of the school population. There are many whites, particularly poor whites, and males, whose educational careers are ruined by these discipline sanctions."[7] Clearly, limited research has been undertaken to study these problems. The challenge to investigate in-depth this barrier to equal educational opportunity will remain with educators during the decade of the 80's.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See *Children Out of School in America*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Children's Defense Fund, 1974; *School Suspensions: Are They Helping Children?* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Children's Defense Fund, 1975; The twenty *Special Students Concerns Projects* funded by the United States Department of Education, 1974-1979.

[2] *Special Student Concerns Project. Phase 1-Research Report*. Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Community Relations—Social Development Commission in Milwaukee County, 1978, p. I.

[3] Glass, G.V. and Stanley, J.C. *Statistical Methods in Education and Psychology*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970, p. 121.

[4] Nie, N.H., Hull, C.H., Jenkins, J.G., Steinbrenner, K. and Bent, D.H. *SPSS Manual*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975, p. 279.

[5] *Special Student Concerns Project*. University of Oklahoma: The Southwest Center for Human Relations Studies, April, 1980, p. 29.
[6] Ibid., p. 29.
[7] Yudof, M.G. "Suspension and Expulsion of Black Students from the Public Schools: Academic Capital Punishment and the Constitution." *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 1975, 39, p. 380.

Table 1: Special Student Concerns Projects

Broward County (Florida) Human Relations Division

California Department of Education

Community Relations—Social Development Commission in Milwaukee County (Wisconsin)

Delaware State Office of Human Relations

Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development

Florida State University—Institute for Social Research

Indiana Department of Public Instruction

Indiana University—Center for Urban and Multicultural Education

Jackson State University

Jefferson County (Kentucky) Education Consortium

Louisiana State Department of Education

Massachusetts Department of Education

North Carolina Human Relations Commission

Old Dominion University of Virginia

Rhode Island Department of Education

South Carolina Human Affairs Commission

University of Michigan—Program for Educational Opportunity

University of Oklahoma—Southwest Center for Human Relations Studies

University of South Alabama

West Virginia Human Rights Commission

Table 2: Correlation Coefficients

		r^2	r
1.	GINI Index with the percent of the black population.	.01834	-.1354
2.	GINI Index with the percent of total suspensions.	.00143	-.0378
3.	GINI Index with the percent of black suspensions.	.28837	.5370
4.	GINI Index with the total population	.01050	.1025
5.	Percent of the black population with the percent of black suspensions.	.58186	.7628
6.	Percent of the black population with the percent of total suspensions.	.08623	.2937

Figure 1: A Histogram Representing the Distribution of the GINI Index for the 139 Schools.

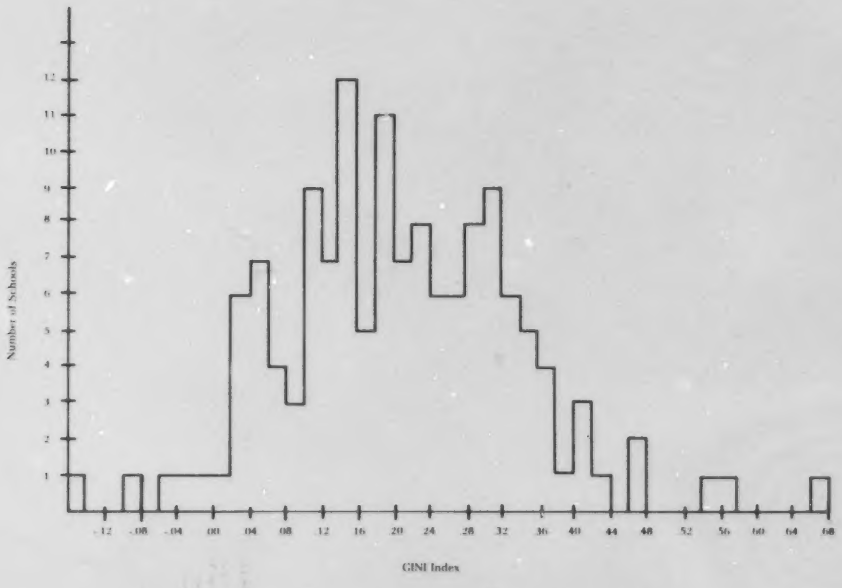


Figure 2: The Graph of the Relationship Between the Percent of the Black Population and the Percent of the White Population.

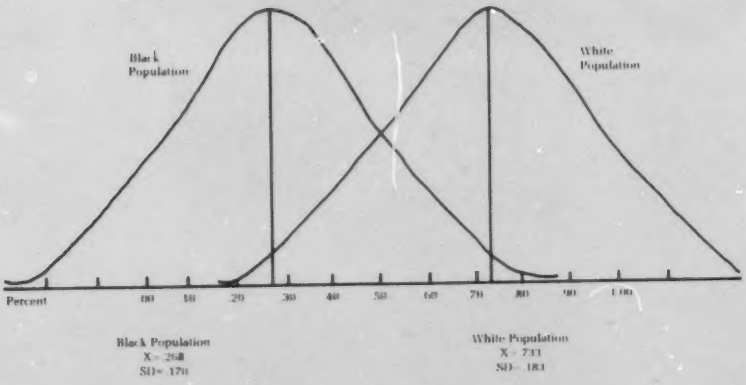


Figure 3: The Graph of the Relationship Between the Percent of Black Suspensions and the Percent of White Suspensions.

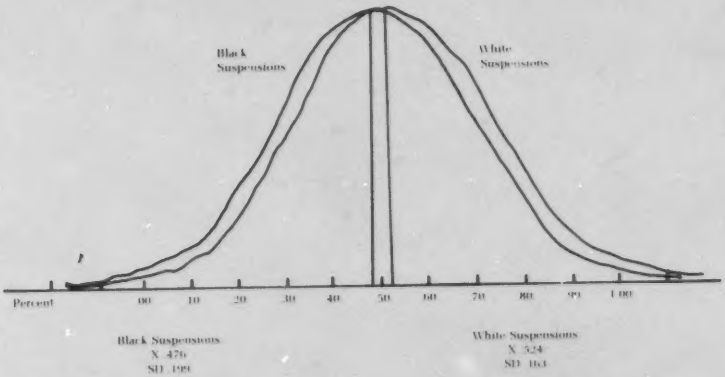


Figure 4: The Graph of the Relationship Between the Percent of the Black Population and the Percent of Black Suspensions.

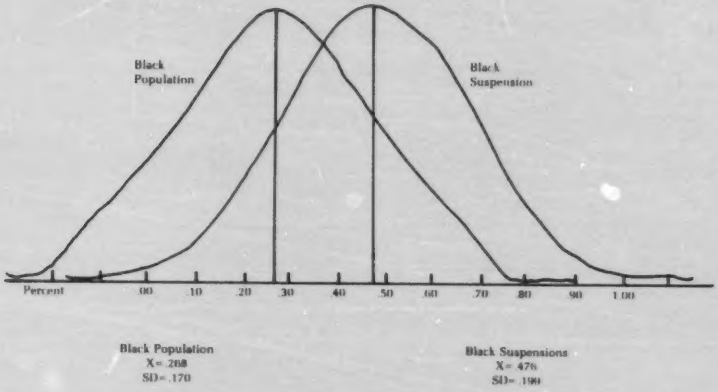
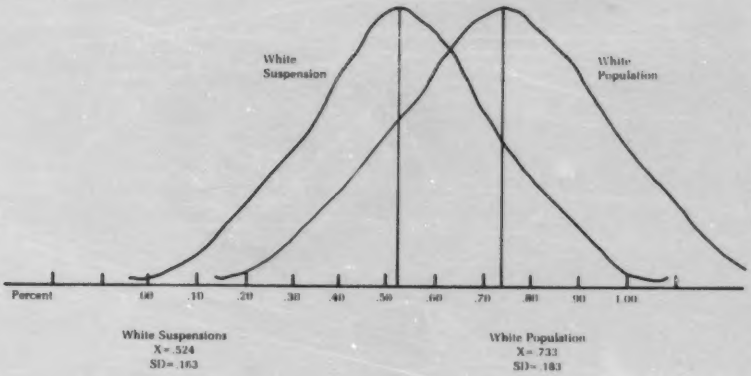


Figure 5: The Graph of the Relationship Between the Percent of White Suspensions and the Percent of the White Population.



Teacher Management Of Classroom Behavior[1]

Meryl E. Englander

Overview

The theme of the studies reported thus far has focused on the relative frequency with which minority socio economically poor students have been suspended. The facts as they are presented are real and they have important implications for education and for the society as a whole. Students are losing valuable time on the task of learning not only from suspensions but from the anguish that accompanies the suspensions and the disruptions that lead to the suspensions.

Two elements, each of which is more critical to achievement than is ability or any other single factor, are at issue here. Numerous studies including Wiley (1974) and Rieth et al. (1980) have shown that the amount of time students spend on task is of the utmost importance. Whatever are the other consequences to New York's 20,000 student suspensions in one year and the one in thirteen ratio for high school students nationally is a moot question. However, there is no doubt that suspensions eliminate millions of hours of learning time and otherwise has a degenerating effect on the students who can least afford it.

Any punishment, but rejection most of all, is debilitating. Anyone who has ever been punished recognizes the feelings of disparagement and unworthiness which naturally follow the punishment. The penality is not as bad as the hurt. Coleman et al (1966), in one of the broadest studies ever conducted in education found that a feeling of powerlessness to control one's destiny is the single most potent factor in predicting achievement.

In chapter IV Bennett and Harris conclude that the serious disrupters lack a sense of efficacy concerning the school. In those schools that show the highest disproportion of race/sex suspensions we find that the students report high scores of dislike for the schools, strong feelings that punishment is unfair, minimal administrative support for desegregation and that the preponderance of power rests with the white population.

Whenever one group sets itself up as the dominant power to control by force the thoughts and behaviors of another group, the logic of human social living is violated and rebellion is fermented. As ludicrous as it sounds one may well ask, is this the condition in schools?

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[1] Portions of this chapter formerly presented at 1981 AERA Convention at Los Angeles, CA.

One source of evidence to answer this question is the way teachers respond to students. In particular we will look at the way the teachers in one school district allegedly respond to student misbehavior. We will compare responses to generally well behaved students with those to problem students.

Lest this report be seen as a condemnation of educators we should note that in most educational systems teachers are caught in the middle. They are expected to bring all students up to a prescribed level of competence regardless of the students' past experience, distracting emotional problems, variance in ability, attitudes generated at home, individualistic style of behaving and impotency for prosperous futures. The responsibility lies with the community and the society as a whole. As Englander (1983) demonstrated teachers respond in accord with the mores of the society. Nevertheless, the teachers are the ones who directly confront the students and therefore the teachers' responses to students become a critical issue.

The need for students to be on-task is so logical and well documented that references are unnecessary. In addition, teacher status within the school and his or her own sense of adequacy tends to be a function of the apparent order and control manifested within the classroom. Therefore, it is not surprising that Fuller (1969) found that discipline is the primary concern of new teachers or that Coates and Thoresen (1974) report that it remains a prevailing source of anxiety among experienced teachers. The Phi Delta Kappa Annual Gallup Poll (1982) shows for the tenth straight year that discipline and moral development is the uppermost concern of parents. Given that managing student behavior is a critical aspect of teaching, perhaps the *sine qua non* of teaching quality, two questions are critical: (1) What do teachers normally do when confronted with student misbehavior? (2) What resources are currently available that would enable educators to achieve their goals and to resolve the prevailing anxiety regarding student behavior?

To seek an answer to the first question, two complementary studies were conducted in a particular school district to obtain data as to how teachers respond to student misbehaviors. The studies are presented and interpreted in Teacher's Response to Student Misbehavior. The answer to the second question is a brief description with references regarding what is currently known for facilitating proper student behavior, Strategies For Managing Student Behavior.

Teacher Response To Student Misbehavior

Student off-task behavior varies across a wide spectrum. However, contrary to news reports, as noted in earlier chapters the vast majority of the classroom behaviors which confront teachers is nuisance behavior mixed with an occasional student fight. In particular, the students within the school district of this study are not being raped or stabbed in the halls. The teachers are not beaten. As we will note in study II the typical deviant behavior is primarily being off-task. Perhaps the best explanation for school misbehavior is the general set of student motivations identified by Dreikurs (1968): attention, revenge, power and helplessness. The evidence presented in earlier chapters strongly suggests that serious disrupters have such feelings.

Reports of teacher responses to misbehavior are limited. DeFlaminis (1976) presented eighty-five volunteer teachers from Eugene, Oregon with

sixteen hypothetical discipline problems. The hypothetical situations varied with respect to ability, motivation and sex of the students and the duration of the misbehavior. The subjects initially indicated how they would respond to such situations and then in follow-up interviews explained why they responded as they did. Unfortunately DeFlaminis did not present the data except to note that the greatest frequency of teacher responses were force and coercion. Teachers reportedly like the use of force because it demonstrated their authority. They also liked persuasion but tended not to use it because it was time consuming. Although the teachers frequently used coercion they disdained it. Teachers explained that the expediency of dealing with misbehavior mitigated against the use of persuasion in favor of coercion.

The DeFlaminis report is faulted on several accounts: (a) Data were not presented, (b) District administrators selected the schools in which the study was to be conducted. No information is available as to their criteria, (c) The teachers were volunteers so the possibility of bias is unknown, (d) Teachers were identified with their responses and the likelihood of socially approved response bias is probable.

More precise data is needed regarding spontaneous teacher response to student off-task behavior. To this end two independent studies were conducted in order to ascertain (a) a broad sense of teacher reactions to a variety of misbehaviors and (b) the specific reaction of teachers as they function in their own classrooms.

The Population. The data were collected from teachers in a county consolidated school district which serves about twelve thousand students. The county is semirural with a large university located in the major community of about 40,000 residents excluding the transient university students.

Study I: Teachers' Self Report

A questionnaire, sponsored by the Parent-Teachers Organization was sent to all full-time credentialed teachers within the school district. The teachers were asked to respond anonymously and thereby no demographic data is available except school level.

The Instruments. The instruments were questionnaires distributed by the respective school secretaries to all teachers within each school. The questionnaire offered a two dimension matrix. Twenty categories of student misbehaviors were listed. The behaviors, see Table 1, ranged from off-task talking quietly with other students to physically attacking a teacher. The teacher response options, see Table 2, varied from responding with empathy for the offending student's feelings to corporal punishment. Twenty-two types of teacher responses were listed including an open-ended option in which the teacher could specify his own alternative.

Table 1

Student Misbehaviors

1. Habitual tardiness
2. Cheating on a test
3. Repeatedly talking loudly with other pupils during seatwork
4. Repeatedly seeking your attention

5. Quietly, but repeatedly, off-task talking to other pupils
6. Repeatedly out-of-seat but not disruptive
7. Noise making: whistling or laughing without cause
8. Scuffling with other pupils
9. Name calling, teasing other pupils
10. Contemptuously disobeying or questioning authority
11. Physical abuse of teacher
12. Theft
13. Unacceptable sex behavior
14. Deliberate destruction of school property
15. Physical attack on another pupil

For elementary teachers:

16. Verbal abuse of teacher, other adults
17. Repeatedly interrupting you
18. Inattentative; daydreaming and gazing around
19. General noise making: tapping books, pencils
20. Profanity

For secondary teachers:

16. Forgetting books, paper, pencils
17. Neglect of personal appearance
18. Running in the hall
19. Skipping your class
20. Smoking out of designated area

The questionnaire was constructed by a committee composed of two principals, three teachers and a university consultant. Care was taken to focus on behaviors which the committee felt represented a range of possible misdeeds within the school population. The teacher responses contained elements which represented punishment, humanistic psychology and behavior modification though these labels were never identified as such.

Separate questionnaires were sent to elementary and secondary schools. The questionnaires were identical except for five student misbehavior items and three teacher response alternatives. Table 1 shows that misbehavior items 16-20 were different for elementary and secondary schools.

Table 2

Teacher Response Options

a. Tell pupil to get back to work: "Okay that is enough, now. . . "
b. Empathize with pupil's feelings: "You are feeling mad and. . . "
c. Interpret behavior to student; "You don't like science so you are. . . "
d. Repeat rule: "In this class we. . . "
e. Withdraw approval: "I do not like. . . "
f. Praise another student's behavior: Mike, you are. . . "
g. Mild reprimand: Don't do. . . "
h. Intense reprimand: "STOP THAT. . . "
i. Warn or threaten: "The next time. . . "
j. Call parent.
k. Refer for disciplinary action.

l. Ignore misbehavior.
m. Remove distracting objects.
n. Move student's seat.
o. Time out: Isolate student in hall or quiet corner.
p. Mild action message: Frown, shake finger.
q. Mild physical punishment: Shake, force to sit down.
r. Paddle or hit with rule or hand to sting.
s. Assign extra work.
t. Other (Please indicate below).

Elementary teachers' additional responses:

E_u. Praise student's appropriate behavior.
E_v. Use humor.
E_w. Take away privileges such as turns or recess.

Secondary teachers' additional responses:

S_u. Refer to counselor.
S_v. Lower student's grade.
S_w. Not applicable in my class.

Each teacher was asked to respond to the questionnaire twice. First, with respect to well behaved productive students and then in terms of how they would react to problem students given the same immediate behaviors. As an orientation to the difference, the teachers were asked to think specifically of representative students from their current or past student populations.

The organization of the study enabled us to analyze responses with respect to three levels of schooling, two kinds of students and twenty different misbehaviors.

Analysis of Results. The data for the respective school levels is presented in Tables 3,4, and 5.

Table 3

Elementary School Teachers' Self Reported Response to Selected Student Misbehaviors

n = 85

Teacher responses as listed in Table 2

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w
1.	0	1	7	5	2	3	6	3	0	35	1	6	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	2	0	3	2
	0	1	6	2	1	2	5	4	1	43	2	3	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	2	0	1	2
2.	0	2	8	9	7	1	11	8	6	3	0	2	2	10	1	13	0	1	0	3	1	0	0
	0	2	5	7	8	1	5	11	5	2	0	2	2	18	2	2	0	0	1	4	2	0	2
3.	14	0	1	6	4	9	9	2	2	0	0	1	0	2	4	10	0	0	0	1	2	0	8
	6	0	0	5	4	4	4	1	4	0	0	2	0	20	10	5	0	1	0	1	3	0	13
4.	8	10	5	4	1	4	8	2	1	1	0	13	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	4	13	4	0
	3	7	3	6	3	3	5	4	2	2	0	16	1	1	1	4	0	0	0	4	13	3	1
5.	13	0	1	4	1	5	15	3	0	1	1	8	1	8	2	6	0	0	0	2	3	4	3
	10	0	0	6	0	2	11	7	0	2	1	6	1	9	5	9	0	0	0	0	2	1	7
6.	14	0	1	5	3	6	9	2	3	0	0	17	0	0	2	10	0	0	0	3	2	3	2
	13	0	2	4	2	5	6	2	3	0	0	16	0	2	4	11	0	0	0	4	2	3	6
7.	7	0	1	8	9	2	17	5	4	0	1	5	1	1	4	7	0	0	1	0	1	1	4
	5	0	1	4	7	3	9	6	3	0	1	5	2	2	9	8	3	0	0	1	0	0	7
8.	1	7	5	11	3	0	17	8	5	2	0	3	0	0	5	22	2	0	0	1	1	4	9
	1	3	1	11	3	0	10	4	3	3	2	5	0	0	7	3	4	1	0	0	0	4	15
9.	1	2	9	14	9	1	12	8	2	1	1	2	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	2	3	0	5
	0	0	7	11	6	1	9	7	3	1	1	3	0	1	6	4	1	0	0	2	3	0	8
10.	0	2	9	3	3	1	3	11	1	14	6	0	0	0	5	1	0	5	0	3	0	0	9
	0	1	8	3	2	1	1	11	1	12	3	2	0	0	4	1	1	5	0	3	0	0	9
11.	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	7	3	30	19	1	0	0	1	1	0	6	1	5	1	0	0
	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	7	1	28	26	0	0	0	1	0	0	7	0	6	0	0	1

12.	0	4	5	2	3	0	1	8	1	36	10	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	6	0	0	1
	0	4	5	2	1	0	1	7	3	37	9	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	4	0	0	2
13.	0	1	0	5	6	8	5	1	0	32	8	1	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	4	0	0	2
	0	1	4	4	9	10	5	1	0	31	10	1	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	4	0	0	1
14.	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	10	4	24	19	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	5	1	1	5
	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	10	2	26	19	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	4	0	1	4
15.	0	5	2	1	0	0	0	8	2	12	17	2	0	0	3	0	1	6	1	4	0	0	13
	0	4	2	1	0	0	0	8	2	10	25	2	0	0	3	0	3	6	0	4	0	0	12
16.	0	5	3	3	9	0	1	15	2	16	4	2	0	0	2	0	1	2	0	6	0	1	5
	0	1	3	4	8	0	0	13	3	18	6	2	0	0	5	0	1	3	0	5	0	0	6
17.	4	1	5	12	12	7	12	2	0	0	0	5	0	0	2	7	0	1	0	3	4	2	4
	1	1	5	10	17	6	1	6	0	0	0	3	0	0	6	8	0	1	0	1	3	0	4
18.	27	2	4	1	2	5	7	0	2	2	0	5	1	3	2	7	0	1	0	3	4	2	4
	24	1	3	0	1	3	8	1	3	3	0	3	7	4	3	5	0	0	0	3	0	3	5
19.	6	0	3	6	4	1	20	6	2	1	0	4	8	0	2	13	1	0	0	2	2	2	2
	2	0	3	4	2	0	19	7	2	1	0	3	14	1	1	12	1	1	0	2	1	1	3
20.	1	4	2	12	17	1	10	4	1	7	4	10	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	3	0	1	3
	0	5	2	11	16	0	4	3	4	9	6	8	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	3	0	1	3
Total	96	46	73	113	97	57	143	113	42	217	91	89	13	26	42	78	5	28	5	61	36	34	80
	65	32	62	97	93	33	113	124	43	228	108	81	27	58	71	80	14	36	2	57	29	18	81

Student misbehaviors as identified in Table 1

Data in each box represents frequency of teacher responses to:

Generally Well Behaved Students

Problem Students

Table 4

Middle School Teacher's Self Reported Responses to Selected Student Misbehaviors

n = 35

Teacher responses as listed in Table 2

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w
1.	0	0	1	2	1	1	17	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0	0	1	2	1	1	7	4	2	0	2	0	0	0	1	6	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
2.	0	0	1	7	1	2	1	1	6	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	0	1
	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	8	0	13	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	4	0	0
3.	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	18	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	4	1	2
	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	25	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	0
4.	0	0	0	3	2	0	4	0	3	3	2	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	10	1
	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	2	3	2	3	0	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	11	0
5.	4	0	1	1	2	1	4	3	3	0	2	0	0	1	7	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	3	2	1	1	0	0	3	3	5	0	4	0	0	3	11	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
6.	5	2	1	1	3	0	2	0	0	1	1	8	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	4	0	2
	1	0	1	1	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	8	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	1	4	0	3
7.	5	0	0	6	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	7	2	5	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
	1	0	0	2	1	0	7	0	0	0	0	2	0	8	5	5	0	0	0	1	2	0	0
8.	6	0	0	3	2	0	9	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
	6	0	0	2	1	0	9	0	2	0	0	1	9	0	3	4	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
9.	11	0	1	7	2	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	2	0	1
	0	0	0	4	2	0	5	0	4	1	1	2	2	0	3	2	0	0	1	0	2	0	0
10.	0	1	1	9	2	1	2	0	7	0	1	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	2
	0	0	2	7	3	0	1	0	8	0	3	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	1
11.	1	1	2	1	7	0	4	5	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	5	0	2
	1	1	0	1	6	0	4	5	1	1	6	0	0	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	3	0	0

12.	1/0	2/0	1/0	0/0	0/0	1/0	0/2	5/2	1/2	2/2	10/17	0/0	0/0	0/0	2/0	0/1	0/0	0/2	0/0	0/0	5/4	0/0	2/0
13.	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/1	0/0	2/2	21/20	1/1	1/0	0/1	0/0	0/0	1/0	0/2	0/0	0/0	0/1	0/0	5/4
14.	0/1	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/1	2/1	2/1	5/4	19/21	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	2/3	0/0	2/1
15.	0/0	0/1	0/0	4/2	0/0	0/0	12/8	8/13	3/3	0/0	0/1	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/1	1/2	1/0	0/1	0/0	1/1	2/0	0/0
16.	0/0	1/0	0/1	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/1	1/0	1/1	7/5	19/25	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/0	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	2/0
17.	0/0	0/0	1/0	0/0	2/1	0/0	2/1	1/0	1/2	4/4	4/7	0/0	0/1	0/0	1/0	4/4	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	9/9	0/0	3/2
18.	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	2/2	0/0	24/26	0/0	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	2/0	0/0	0/0	1/0	0/0	5/3
19.	0/0	1/1	1/1	0/0	1/1	4/4	0/0	0/0	2/3	1/2	0/0	10/10	1/0	0/1	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	11/10	0/0	1/0
20.	0/0	0/0	1/1	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	1/1	0/0	1/1	22/23	0/0	0/0	1/0	1/1	0/0	0/0	0/1	0/0	0/0	1/4	0/0	2/0
Total	34/13	10/5	12/9	45/26	27/21	10/6	65/53	30/37	38/49	26/25	154/198	24/26	12/16	11/16	15/24	31/30	6/4	8/10	2/10	6/5	52/52	16/15	35/14

Student misbehaviors as identified in Table 1

Data in each box represents frequency of teacher responses to:
Generally Well Behaved Students

Problem Students

Table 5

High School Teachers' Self Reported Response to Selected Student Misbehaviors

n = 56

Teacher responses as listed in Table 2

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w
1.	0	0	1	2	0	1	33	3	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	4	0	1	0
	0	0	1	1	0	1	30	8	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
2.	0	0	0	6	5	0	4	1	5	2	12	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	4	1	3	6
	0	0	0	5	2	0	2	1	8	12	15	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	4	1	2	6
3.	0	1	1	1	2	0	2	0	5	1	33	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	1
	0	1	1	1	4	0	0	2	1	1	37	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1
4.	0	0	1	4	3	0	4	3	2	2	6	0	0	2	2	4	0	0	0	14	1	3	4
	0	0	0	3	2	0	4	3	1	1	5	0	0	4	2	3	0	0	0	14	1	3	4
5.	7	0	0	2	5	0	11	11	2	1	0	0	0	4	3	3	0	1	1	1	0	3	0
	7	0	0	2	2	0	6	3	0	0	3	0	0	4	6	1	0	0	1	2	2	2	0
6.	4	8	4	3	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	18	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	8	3
	3	8	3	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	17	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	10	5
7.	9	0	0	3	2	0	15	1	5	0	0	2	0	6	0	7	0	0	1	0	0	2	2
	6	0	0	1	1	0	14	3	4	0	0	2	0	8	1	6	0	0	1	0	0	2	2
8.	6	0	0	2	3	0	19	5	1	0	0	3	3	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	4	1
	5	0	0	1	2	0	16	9	1	0	0	3	3	0	3	6	0	0	0	1	0	3	1
9.	10	1	0	7	6	2	5	3	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	7	1
	8	0	0	6	6	1	6	3	5	0	2	0	0	0	3	6	1	0	0	1	0	6	1
10.	1	0	1	16	5	0	7	3	4	2	1	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	2	5	2
	0	0	1	15	3	0	10	4	5	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	4	3
11.	1	1	1	4	13	0	6	7	2	1	6	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	5	1
	0	0	2	3	4	0	4	8	2	1	6	1	0	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	1	4	1

12.	1	3	3	1	4	0	1	4	4	3	19	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	2	4	2
	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	3	3	4	25	1	0	0	4	0	1	3	0	0	1	2	2
13.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	28	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	11	2
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	25	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	12	2
14.	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	5	39	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2
	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	5	38	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2
15.	0	0	0	7	2	0	18	15	2	0	3	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
	0	0	0	7	2	0	13	19	1	0	4	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
16.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	46	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	1	0	2	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
17.	0	0	0	4	2	0	14	1	5	1	4	4	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	8	3	3
	1	0	0	3	1	0	12	1	4	0	6	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	8	2	3
18.	0	0	0	4	0	0	7	4	1	0	24	9	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	0	0	0	2	5	0	0	4	0	0	24	8	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
19.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	1	18	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	15	6	2
	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	12	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	12	6	2
20.	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	3	1	0	36	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	33	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
Total	40	14	13	66	53	4	132	68	49	25	259	67	7	12	18	43	3	5	5	24	35	74	37
	30	12	10	54	43	2	123	85	46	23	269	55	7	17	27	42	8	3	7	27	30	67	40

Data in each box represents frequency of teacher responses to:
Generally Well Behaved Students

Problem Students

Four hundred and twenty-five classroom teachers are employed by the school district. One hundred and seventy-six usable, complete forms were returned. The rate of total return was 41.4 percent; elementary teacher response was 49.5 percent, middle school teacher response was 31.2 percent and the high school teacher response was 39.8 percent. Only one attempt was made to procure responses.

A number of conclusions can be derived from the data. Teachers respond to different misbehaviors differently. It is also apparent that different teachers respond differently to the same misbehavior. In elementary schools a pupil could be treated from eleven to sixteen different ways for the same behavior. Note however, the secondary teacher responses were slightly more uniform. No individual teacher indicated a single response for all misbehaviors. Elsewhere, Englander (1983) showed that if a variety of students were to misbehave in exactly the same way, the vast majority of teachers respond differentially depending on their perceptions of student intentions and personal qualities. It follows that a student could not anticipate a particular response from teachers if he or she either misbehaved in a variety of ways for one teacher or in one way in the classrooms of different teachers.

The most frequently reported single teacher response is to request help from others. Elementary teachers reportedly referred to parents as the most popular response for seven of twenty misbehaviors. On the other hand, the secondary teachers most frequently referred problem behavior to the main office for disciplinary action. Such referrals were made most frequently by both middle and high school teachers for eight of twenty misbehaviors.

Behavior modification, the most publicized, researched and precise means for managing classroom behavior, was measured by the responses: (u) praise pupils good behavior, (f) praise another pupil's behavior, (l) and ignore the misbehavior. Elementary teachers report the use of such responses' 182 times or eleven percent of the total number of responses. Praising pupils' good behavior, was indicated for only 36 or two percent of the elementary teachers total treatments. Middle school teachers report the use of behavior modification processes 34 or five percent of the time, while high school teachers reported them 71 or seven percent of the time. Despite the many books on behavior modification for teachers and its foundation in psychological research it would appear to be infrequently used in classrooms.

Humanistic teacher responses were measured by such options as (b) empathize with pupil feelings and (c) interpret behavior to pupil. Elementary teachers selected such responses 119 or eight percent of the time, while middle school and high school teachers report their use as eleven and six percent respectively if one includes (u) referred to counselor. Without counselor referral it is three percent.

The most frequently mentioned category was punitive actions More of the response options fit this category and they were the most frequently selected alternatives. The items, (e) withdraw approval, (g) mild reprimand, (h) intense reprimand, (i) warn, and (k) refer to principal for punishment, represent oral punitive action. These five verbal messages were listed by elementary teachers 486 times. Physical moves, such as (w) take away privileges, (p) mild action messages such as frowning or shaking fingers, (q) mild physical punishment like shaking students, (r) paddling and (s) assigning extra work were checked by elementary teachers 196 times. For elemen-

tary teachers these total punitive responses were indicated 682 times or forty three percent of the total. Middle school teachers report the use of verbal punishment 314 times and nonverbal punishment 64 times for a total of 378 or fifty-seven percent. High school teachers indicated verbal punishment 561 times and nonverbal punitive reaction eighty times for a total of 641 or sixty-one percent of all actions. It is worth noting that the older students, whom we would expect to know the rules, allegedly receive fewer nonverbal signals but relatively more punitive teacher reactions than do elementary pupils.

Such teacher behaviors as (a) tell pupils to go back to work, (d) repeating a rule, (j) call parent, (u) refer for counselor action or use humor (m) remove distracting objects, (n) move student seat or (o) time out were not interpreted as being behavior modification, humanistic or punitive for fear of overgeneralizing. However, it seems likely that such teacher behaviors would be interpreted by most youngsters as being punitive.

All of the data reported thus far have been based upon the teacher reactions with regard to the generally well-behaved students. A number of the teachers refused to participate in the study, "because I do not differentiate between students, I treat them all alike." However, for those who did respond the well behaved and problem students appear to be treated differentially.

The teachers reported the following frequencies: Use of humanistic responses 255 for generally well behaved students and 209 for problem students. Use of behavior modification procedures 287 for generally well behaved students and 232 for problem students. Punishment is allegedly awarded 1751 times to the generally well behaved students and 1814 times for the problem youngsters. The difference in punishment becomes more apparent if we look at the respective use of the three harshest punitive actions: (h) intense reprimand, (k) refer for disciplinary action and (r) paddle. The sum for all teachers in the employment of these responses is 756 for the generally well behaved student and 871 for the problem youngsters.

As shown in table 6 humanistic and behavior modification treatments are used significantly more frequently with well behaved students. Although there is not a statistical difference in the overall use of punishment the problem youngsters receive significantly harsher punishment.

Table 6

Differential Treatment of Well Behaved and Problem Students

	Treatment			
	Humanistic	*Beh. Mod.*	*Punishment*	*Harsh Pun.*
Well Behaved Students	255	287	1751	756
Problem Students	209	232	1814	871
Chi Square values	4.56*	5.83**	1.11	8.13***

* $p < .05$
** $p < .02$
*** $p < .01$

From the frustrated teacher's point of view it is not surprising that problem youngsters receive more and harsher punishment. It seems likely however that the problem students are aware that they receive harsher treatment for the same misbehavior and this increases their antagonism to school.

Study I has depended upon self report data. Though this helps to clarify some of the issues, in-class observation is necessary if we are to obtain a more valid measure of how teachers respond to students.

Study II: In-class Observations.

In-class observations may be done with cameras or specially trained outside observers. In such cases the class is intruded and to some degree the naturalness of the classroom is lost. We decided to keep the observations simple and use relatively naive but natural observers.

In class operations:

Thirty-five elementary student teachers who were working in four different consolidated schools were assigned the task of observing and recording categories of pupil and master teacher behavior. The students routinely devoted several hours each week to recording observations of various interactions. The teachers were not advised as to the specific type of data to be recorded.

During the twelfth week of the semester each student teacher was asked to (a) identify three incidences of pupil misbehavior (b) note the setting in which the misbehavior occurred, (c) note any antecedents to this specific misbehavior, (d) note the teachers reaction to the misbehavior, (e) note the apparent immediate effect on the pupil(s) behavior of the teacher's reaction, and (f) note the apparent extended (30 minutes) consequence on the pupil's behavior of the teacher reaction.

Ninety-six incidences of misbehavior were recorded, forty events involved talking, twenty-one of which were loud enough to disturb others. Other common misdeeds include playing with an object (12), walking around the room (10), daydreaming (9), and roughhousing with others (4).

One hundred and ten teacher reactions in fifteen categories were recorded. Verbal reprimand was the most common reaction (43). Other responses were: threaten loss of privilege (13), change seat on one or more pupils (12), ignore misbehavior (8), reaffirm rules (7), threaten seat change (6), nonverbal disapproval (6), take away privilege (3), threaten to paddle (2), tell pupil to put head on desk (2), request good behavior of class (2), redirect to academic task (2), offer academic assistance (2), reward good behavior (1) and paddle (1).

Ninety immediate pupil reactions were recorded. In forty-seven cases the pupils went immediately to on-task behaviors. Other consequences include, passive off-task behavior (14), nonverbal reaction such as sneering (10), continued misbehavior (6), apparent emotional reaction (6), restive acquiescence (4), change to other off-task behaviors (3).

Thirty minutes after the misbehavior two-thirds of the pupils were noted to be off-task either on the original misbehavior or in some other way.

From this data we can note that most of the misbehavior may have been unproductive, not consistent with the teachers notion of academic school work, but not antisocial. This is consistent with the findings of most in-school

observations, for instance Thomas (1978).

Only one incident of the last resort, paddling, was recorded. However, it would seem that teachers primarily rely on coercion, threat and a variety of punitive actions to curb misbehavior. Although on eight occasions teachers ignored misbehavior, we see limited evidence that these teachers applied positive methods to influence classroom behavior.

Over one-half of the pupils immediately shifted to on-task behavior as an apparent response to the teachers reaction. Thirty minutes later however, it was noted that only about one-third of the offending students were on-task. Despite the many instances of ineffectiveness of the teachers' disciplinary measures, we note that there is sufficient immediate obedience to positively reinforce the teachers and thereby maintain the punitive responses.

Teachers are not only reinforced for punishing student misbehaviors, but punishment is condoned and abetted by the society as a whole. Despite the continued failure of punishment to reform deviant behavior, the majority of people cling to the notion that the most appropriate way to change undesired behavior is through punishment. More effective alternatives are available.

Teaching Strategies For Managing Student Behavior

Over the past fifteen years a variety of applied research investigations have been conducted in schools to ascertain the credibility of a variety of strategies which teachers might employ to control and shape student behavior. Surprisingly few experiments have explored the positive and negative effects of punishment. Kounin (1970) observed a number of elementary school classrooms to identify the differential effects of clarity, firmness, intensity, focus or pro- vs anti-child desist messages. He also thoroughly observed the effects on other children when teachers "made an example" by punishing one child. He found no relationship between any of these variables and subsequent student behavior. From his studies one could easily conclude that no matter what the teacher does *after* a behavior has occured, it will occur again.

Although punishing misbehavior does not seem to decrease future reoccurances teachers are not helpless. Furthermore, the state of the art does not suggest that rules need be foresaken nor that students be allowed to do as they please. On the contrary, the advocates of alternatives to punishment are universally specific in noting the necessity for rules.

Three current comprehensive books (Charles, 1981, Englander, 1983 and Wolfgang & Glickman, 1980) describe in some detail a number of tested strategies whereby teachers can influence the behavior of students through positive means. The most noted, carefully documented and direct strategy is a family of processes commonly known as behavior modification. "Behavior modification" controls the cues and consequences of behavior and thereby replaces improper behavior with desired behavior.

William Glasser (1978) offers a modulated program that has the dual objectives of increasing appropriate behavior and forcing students to assume responsibility for their own behavior. Teachers seem to find Glasser's reality therapy very useful.

The final recommendation focuses on trust-based interpersonal relationships between teachers and students. Communication which respects and

facilitates the views of both teachers and students is the key. Two references are highly recommended. For those concerned with elementary school education Haim Ginott's *Teacher and Child* will be most helpful. For older students Thomas Gordon's *Teacher Effectiveness Training* enables teachers to focus in on pertinent problems and communicate with the no-lose method.

Summary. Schools are punative. The empirical data presented throughout this book demonstrates that for those students whose behavior is deviant in the eyes of the authority the consequence is punishment. The evidence is clear, punished behavior recurs. It is also clear that punishment recurs. An inspection of school records indicates that although punishment is frequent relatively few students are the recipients. The majority of students are only occasionally punished. It follows that the offending students are repeatedly punished and despite the punishment repeatedly offend. Whether we consider a single type of punishment like suspension or a variety of punishments the results are the same.

Fortunately, a number of alternative strategies to manage student behavior exists. The alternatives to punishment in addition to changing behavior offer increased time on task and rule governance and give students a greater chance for a sense of well being.

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Part III
Educational Perspectives

DISPROPORTIONATE IMPACT AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY

Stephen E. Bower

According to the federal regulations governing the Emergency School Aid Act under Title VII of the Education Amendments of 1972, Special Student Concerns programs, like the Project for Equity in Discipline, are to be designed "to eliminate the disproportionately high incidence of suspension, expulsion, and other disciplinary action involving minority group students in the schools of cooperating local educational agencies". The regulations specify that funding must be used to identify the "probable causes of and formulating remedial action" for the disproportionate impact of student discipline procedure involving minority group students.[1] The leading assumption behind the attempt to reduce disproportionate impact is that disproportionality results from some form of racial or ethnic discrimination, whether individual or institutional, in the public school program. Disproportionate impact, in other words, is evidence enough to substantiate social inequality, and to allow dispensation for relief.

The obvious point of departure for social policy addressing the disproportionate impact of particular social phenomena on minority groups is to move toward an affirmative racial balance—racial balance meaning that respective of minority representation there is also an equal statistical representation in all aspects of American social, political, and economic life. For student discipline policy, for instance, the goal of the Project for Equitable Administration of Student Discipline would be to eliminate the disproportionate impact of suspension and expulsion on minority groups in the desegregated setting.[2] While this, indeed, may be a worthwhile social or educational ideal, policy studies of this kind tend to forgo the need to prove intentionality as it pertains to racial and ethnic discrimination. In other words, policies that seek to redress grievous wrongs through an equal distribution formula assume, all too often, that disproportionality results from overt or covert forms of racial or ethnic discrimination (as distinguished, of course, from other forms of discriminating behavior). Consequently, these policies do not deal with the *intent* to discriminate on the basis of race or ethnicity which seems to be a more appropriate basis for identifying racist or over zealous ethnocentric behavior.

Much of the funding provided by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is granted on the presumption that disproportionate impact results from racial or ethnically discriminatory actions on the part of individuals or institutions. This is not to question HEW's selection of problem areas in our society for, in most cases, these areas merit public concern. The only question is whether minority discrimination is an adequate framework for

conceptualizing many of these problems. While the Office of Education acknowledges that "segregation" and "racial imbalance" constitute two separate and distinct phenomena, it is never clear on the distinction. "Desegregation", as a means to remedy segregation, suggests the Office of Education,

> means the assignment of children or faculty to public schools and within such schools without regard to their membership in a minority group, but "desegregation" does not mean the assignment of such persons to or within public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance.[3]

Apparently, there is a distinction, but HEW never ventures beyond employing the term "racial imbalance" to qualify the meaning of the desegregation process. Its own meaning remains unclear. One would have to assume, though, that since desegregation is a process to remedy "illegal conduct", racial imbalance implies no illegality.[4] Furthermore, it might be assumed that desegregation is a process to remedy intentional segregation on the basis of race while racial imbalance occurs for other reasons.

In subsequent paragraphs, however, the definition of undesirable separation is expanded to include all those situations where there is an identifiable separation, both deliberate and undeliberate, by racial criteria. The Office of Education asserted that their justification, in this instance, came, in part, from a Senate report's observation on the need for the Emergency School Aid Act:

> Whether or not it is deliberate, racial, ethnic, and socio-economic separation in our schools and school systems have serious and often irreparable adverse effects on the education of all children, be they from deprived or from advantaged backgrounds.[5]

Whatever the original intention of the Office of Education was in distinguishing between "segregation" and "racial imbalance", a cursory glace at the evidence indicates that it was never taken seriously.

Peter Berger, Sociologist from Rutgers University, has suggested that policy measures in the area of civil rights that ignore the difference between illegal segregation and racial imbalance are *prescriptive* as distinguished from *proscriptive* statements. "It was one thing," states Berger,

> for the Supreme Court to say in 1954 that to bar a child from a particular school solely because of his race was a violation of the child's rights; it is quite another thing for the federal courts and for agencies of the federal government to impose specific patterns of racial "balance" on school systems. It was one thing when both federal and state fair housing laws prohibited discrimination against individuals on the basis of race in the renting or selling of housing; it is quite another thing if political and legal power should now be used to design a demographic composition of a community or an entire region. Similarly, it was one thing for the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to prohibit racial discrimination in employment; the establishment of a system of racial and other group quotas by government fiat bears little resemblance to that original intention.[6]

Whether one favors or opposes *prescriptive* policy to address ethnic or racial inequality, one would have to agree with Berger's understanding of the historical record.[7]

More importantly, reliance on disproportionate impact as an index for social concern inextricably links white discrimination to the really severe problems of minority existence in America. This has caused even the most

astute of social reformers to incorrectly conceptualize the source of minority discontent. The significance of disproportionate impact shrinks considerably when other factors besides race are held constant, and can be explained in a number of different ways other than the widely accepted notion of white discrimination. We now know, for instance, that some white groups work just as hard to segregate themselves from each other as they do to segregate themselves from lower class blacks.[8] The same, I would assume, holds true for differences within the black population.

The dynamics of class culture and ethnicity can be just as significant a factor contributing to disproportionate impact as race. This is true particularly in regard to patterns of residential segregation. In the absence of state sponsored legislation to restrict the residential mobility of blacks, it is hazardous at best to suggest that the demographic characteristics of predominately black neighborhoods were formed because of racial discrimination. The commonly held assumption is that black people would never have chosen to live next door to each other had they not been discriminated against. This is a rule seldom applied to the demography of other ethnic gorups, especially white ethnic groups. The perpetuation of ethnic neighborhoods has long been an important means of protecting the individual from the impersonal order of urban life and from the recurring shifts of a volatile corporate economy.

Discrimination that is often identified as racial is, in fact, the result of vastly different and conflicting values and lifestyles. White people who resist school desegregation and the movement of blacks into their neighborhoods are accused unjustly, in many cases, of standing in the way of minority demands for equality. Much of the resistance stems from cultural or class bias, not racial bias. What these people perceive as "black values", suggests Richard Krickus, are often

> the product of poverty, racial discrimination, ignorance, and social dislocations common among uprooted people. Were the individuals who cling to these same values to be white, the reaction would be much the same; this is evident in Cleveland and other cities where poor Southern whites constitute the newest source of urban immigration.[9]

Krickus goes on to mention Andrew Greeley's study which concludes that white working class ethnics, "by overwhelming percentages", seemed untroubled with living on the same block with blacks of the same class. Only a small percentage of whites objected to residential integration on the basis of race. For Greeley, it was not the color of one's skins that the white ethnics objected to, but perceived differences in class status, values, and lifestyles.[10] Affluent blacks, seeking to escape the pathology of the inner city, separate themselves from the lower classes for basically the same reasons. It is quite possible that many of the discriminatory acts that are termed racial are, indeed, discriminatory for other reasons.

Even if disproportionate impact could be proved to be discrimination in every instance, discrimination has never stood the test as explanation for mass unemployment, decaying urban school systems, and dilapidated housing for the poor. Racial discrimination, probably can account for the lack of black representation in certain occupational segments, attendance at certain private schools, or the racial exclusivity of certain neighborhoods, but it can not account for the fact that many black people have no jobs at all, that the

schools they do attend are in constant need of repair, and that the housing they occupy is substandard. Reform that seeks to "liberalize" the attitudes of white racists fail to address the need for serious economic reform.

To suggest that the rural or urban "red neck" is responsible for black unemployment clearly is to misunderstand the issues at hand. This is a common fault of the professional educator who is convinced that improper educational method is at the bottom of some of our most pressing social problems. Innovative educational technique that seeks to alter the existing features of the public school program becomes a substitute for reform that alters the structural features of institutions that surround the school. The attempt to convince the already sympathetic white teacher that he needs to be "more sensitive" to the needs of his black students adds grease to the already hot fire. The white student who is just as alienated by the public school program as the black student begins to sense the special treatment given to blacks and becomes highly resentful. Additionally, the effort to make the school more attractive to lower class minority students only results in a watered down curriculum designed to keep them in school and off the streets. This only compounds the oppressed condition of the needy, both black and white.

Reform that attacks the cultural lag of racist white people places the burden of solution to economic misery and racial strife on the very people it should be helping. Prominent social theorists who witnessed the ineffectiveness of the "War on Poverty" during the sixties have been able to repopularize the notion of black genetic inferiority as cause for inner-city conditions, while those who hope to change racist attitudes continue to blame intolerant whites, many of whom are in dire straits themselves, for the perpetuation of urban social ills. The irony of social policy which is intended to reduce racial conflict by attacking disproportionate impact is that it will only increase conflict among the disenfranchised groups that vie for the political and economic advantages parceled out by the government. As long as lower class blacks continue to believe they are poor because they are black, the "race issue" will become more politicized than ever, increasing the antagonism between the "minority" and "majority" groups.

The progression toward prescriptive public policy is the end result of defining a set of social problems in a particular manner. The major legitimating ingredient to such a definition is that all racial and ethnic separation results from discrimination on the basis of race and ethnicity. This, in retrospect, is a simplistic understanding of social inequality, and, in many ways, has served to impede progress toward an integrated community of cooperating groups that recognize the right of all to equal opportunity in a democratic society. Equal opportunity, as it is applied here, will mean the guarantee of basic social privileges to any individual irrespective of racial, religious, or ethnic considerations. This presupposes, of course, that the intent to discriminate is a denial of equal opportunity and disproportionate impact may or may not be a violation of this principle.

If one accepts the disproportionality paradigm that imbalance implies racial discrimination or some other form of institutional injustice that impacts minorities at a higher rate, one also has to accept other leading assumptions that support the paradigm. Foremost of these assumptions is that black identity is plagued by certain deficiencies usually embedded in one racial

stereotype or another. Whether the condition of black people is explained through hereditarian theories of intellectual inferiority or environmental theories of "cultural deprivation", black identity is noted by the professional observer to be damaged goods.

The paradigm of disproportionality structures important social issues along minority/white majority lines. This has the tendency to isolate race and ethnicity as the primary causal factors behind the social and cultural experience of minority groups. As long as race or ethnicity are points of contention, Americans will continue to become more color conscious rather than color blind. To be drawn into the paradigm, one must accept the view that all minority people, irrespective of other factors besides race, suffer from some sort of collective deprivation, and that all "whites" from the majority group are subject to collective reward. As a member of one group or the other, an individual assumes the characteristics of the categorization. While this may be a convenient dichotomy for liberal policy makers, it is not so convenient for many black families that lead "normal" or "successful" lives by all the current standards of middle class respectability, or for those white families who are victimized by the same economic system that exploits a goodly proportion of the black community.

Of particular interest at this juncture is the interesting fact that in the seventies it was noted that young black and white men entering the labor market with comparable family backgrounds and level of school achievement were just as likely "to find high-paying jobs and just as likely to escape from bad jobs". The report continued by suggesting that by the seventies racial bias "in the way that the labor market assigned individuals to occupations had been nearly eliminated".[11] However, the experience of the undereducated and underemployed black population of the inner city has not been so fortunate as unemployment levels have continued to rise steadily since the late sixties even as the percentage of blacks who have completed high school has increased.[12] Also worth remembering is the fact that the number of poor whites in America has always exceeded that of "minority" people.[13] To suggest that poverty is an exclusive problem of minority groups does a great disservice to white families and individuals who also deserve a fair share of the assistance made available to the poor. It makes far more sense when addressing the disadvantaged segments of American society to designate which white groups or of which black groups one is speaking.

Although disproportionate impact built upon the assumption of cultural deprivation and intellectual equality has been used by federal agencies as an index to redress alleged present and past acts of social and ethnic discrimination on minority groups, it also provides the grist out of which hereditarian theories of racial and cultural inferiority are formed. The common association of blacks with poverty, low levels of school achievement, and other forms of inadequate social and cultural performance is just as likely to form the basis of theories that explain disproportionate impact in terms of intellectual incompetence. Either way, theories of "cultural deprivation" or genetic inferiority maintain the myth of white superiority.

The continual emphasis on minority disadvantages and majority advantages will only worsen race relations rather than improve them, particularly as more poor and working class whites begin to react more vigorously to liberal policy that virtually ignores their problems by sweeping them under

the political rug. Presumably, upwardly mobile blacks will eventually tire of the common association of "blackness" with poverty. Liberal elites, both black and white, who push for massive urban school desegregation plans (while sending their own children to suburban public schools or prestigious private schools thus sparing them the constant turmoil that characterizes large urban and inner-city school districts) that mix lower and working class whites and blacks together often fail to realize the problems inherent in such a design. Much of the so-called "white backlash", including the Ku Klux Klan and pro-Nazi groups, can be understood in terms of the mobilization of lower and working class white fear that becomes especially acute in times of economic instability.

Because of the cheap availability and convenience of inner-city housing, lower and working class urban whites have always been the first to experience the impact of rapid black migration into America's urban centers. The adversarial relationship between lower and working class blacks and whites as they have competed for jobs, housing, and other resources of the city has a history that stretches back to the beginnings of industrial expansion, corporate domination, and the rapid growth of American cities. Like other minority groups, this segment of the white population remains virtually powerless and underrepresented at all levels of government. As the one-dimensional approach to urban reform that emphasizes minority disadvantages/majority advantages has taken hold, the racial situation in our nation's urban centers has become more precarious than stable. The hope of convincing a working class white family, struggling to obtain job security, adequate housing, and a decent education for their own children, that they ought to be more sympathetic to the plight of racially oppressed minority groups seems a bit unrealistic. If oppression is a viable framework from which to analyze critical social and economic issues, then one might do well to broaden the taken-for-granted understanding of the "oppressed" group.

The tendency to conflate discrimination with disproportionate impact has had a drastic impact, not only on the character of social policy, but on the character of the social fabric itself. Recent developments in the area of public policy are without historical precedent and deserve some comment that addresses the implications of such policy and its probable consequences for the social order of the future.

School Desegregation

In the area of school desegregation the requiring of fixed statistical quotas to ensure racial balance, in the absence of discriminatory intent, has had a tendency to promote unwarranted racial stereotypes that have served to perpetuate rather than suppress the concept of black inferiority. Court orders advancing school desegregation that are based on the need for racial balance view black schools, or predominately black schools, as inherently inferior educational settings. A case in point was the Supreme Court decision in the 1971 *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg County Board of Education*. The issues reviewed by the Court were virtually unrelated to the notion of segregative intent in the establishment of dual school systems. The rule of thumb employed by the Court to identify illegal segregation was the presence of predominately black schools in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg system. Many legal experts who reviewed the case agreed that *Swann* would represent the

model desegregated school system that the Court would use in its subsequent attempts to litigate school desegregation cases. The *Swann* decision was especially important in the history of desegregation because of the magnitude of the desegregation plan (85,000 children) and the use of busing to achieve racial balance.

Quickly following on the heels of the Swann decision, a Federal district judge, using the legal precedent of Swann, ruled that Richmond, Virginia schools be combined with suburban schools to achieve comparable racial balance. The model for desegregation, constructed in Swann, was challenged by petitioners from Richmond who appealed to the Supreme Court for further review. At the request of many black parents in Richmond the Congress of Racial Equality (C.O.R.E.) instructed their lawyers to prepare a brief amicus detailing the questions of law they believed important in resolving the issues before the Court.

The thrust of the argument formulated by C.O.R.E.'s lawyers was that the District Court lacked authority to consolidate the Richmond schools with the surrounding suburban schools in the absence of "invidious state action" to reestablish dual school systems in the area even though some Richmond schools were predominately black. It was apparent that the lawyers for C.O.R.E. were keenly aware of the issues when they stated:

> Theoretical testimony which suggests that no educational system will work if it is "majority black" is strongly racist and should be ignored by a federal court, especially when such testimony is sought to be used as a basis for disenfranchising black residents, since blacks would be permanently prevented from achieving control of a school system in which they are the majority and, as a result, denied due process as guaranteed by the Constitution.[14]

The brief continued by suggesting that:

> Where a school system is restructured by a local board of education in a manner, as approved by the court, so as to comply with the mandate of *Brown*, any subsequent effort at consolidation of unitary school systems, merely for the purpose of achieving a so-called "viable racial mix", results in a total loss of their culture and traditions which they seek to maintain.[15]

There is some question whether the public school has ever been a receptive forum for the retention of sub-cultures and their traditions, but it is certain that "viable racial mix" formulas imply a subtle form of racial condescension.[16]

In some instances where disproportionality was the measure of discrimination the black community has been denied the opportunity to control what would have been predominately black schools or black school systems. In the Richmond case, cited above, C.O.R.E. lawyers recognized that a consolidation plan would dilute substantially "the voice and authority" of the black members participating in the decision-making process for the Richmond city schools.[17]

Professor Derrick Bell, of the Harvard University Law School and author of *Race, Racism, and American Law* also makes note of this development:

> Is it significant in political and economic terms that, if blacks fail in the effort to require metropolitan school desegregation plans, they will assume control of the school system in many of the country's largest cities?. . .

> With new social studies raising questions as to the value of integration in the educational achievement of black children, is it possible to argue that the authority to determine appointments of school principals is more important than the racial balancing of students in the schools.[18]

It is highly conceivable that desegregation plans forwarded under these circumstances stand to hurt more than help alleviate the problems of the black community in many of our nation's cities.

Occasionally, in school desegregation cases, plaintiffs have argued that affirmative racial balance was necessary to raise the achievement levels of black children. This argument only serves to perpetuate the worn-out racial stereotypes that black people are intellectually inferior to white people. Additionally, the achievement level argument overestimates the intellectual advantage of "whiteness", all white children do not have an intellectual or, for that matter, an environmental advantage over black children. This only serves to simplify a terribly complex problem. If achievement level is an issue, then it seems to make far more sense to desegregate, as Nathan Glazer has suggested, on the basis of achievement rather than race.[19]

Such arguments, it also must be pointed out, are based on an understanding of school desegregation that has little or nothing to do with the original issue of state-mandated segregation built on the presumption of racial inferiority. Those people who urge school desegregation for the purpose of raising achievement levels live in a world vastly different from the black person who experienced the racist oppression of a social order held together by the notion of white supremacy. The overriding issue today, as it was in *Brown* twenty-six years ago, should be whether black children are denied admittance to any school on account of their race.

One of the more disturbing consequences of overstating the relationship between disproportionality and racial discrimination is that it has produced more rather than less social and economic segregation. Those who can afford to do so have moved to the suburbs to avoid the forced integration of public schools to achieve racial balance. James S. Coleman, principal author of the *Coleman Report* of 1966, has indicated that desegregation to achieve racial balance has resulted in "a continuous loss of white students from central-city schools. The loss is greater", suggested Coleman,

> as 1) the size of the city is greater; 2) the central-city school district has a higher proportion of black students; and 3) the racial disparity between city and suburbs is great, with a high segregation between districts—blacks in the central-city district and whites in the suburban ones.

The ironic thing about "desegregation", concludes Coleman, is that it "may be increasing segregation".[20] This may help to explain why the courts have been so receptive as of late to cross-district (suburban-central city) desegregation plans. It comes as no surprise, then, that the *Detroit Free Press* reports that after five years of busing to improve the racial balance of the Detroit Public Schools that the court-ordered plan has actually increased segregation.[21]

Issues in a Class Society

American society, whether measured by social or economic standing, has an identifiable class structure. Policy that equates disproportionality with

racial discrimination has a tendency to blur the distinction between race issues and class issues. All blacks are not socially and economically deprived and similarly all whites are not from advantaged backgrounds. It is widely assumed, for instance, that whites "flee" from court-ordered busing because they are racist and not because they dislike lower class behavior. There is a great deal of difference as the events surrounding *Shannon v. HUD* attests.[22]

Shannon v. HUD has caused many well-intentioned liberal reformers, both black and white, to question the assumption that any victory for blacks is also a victory for the poor. The suit filed by a group of middle-class blacks was initiated to restrain the Federal government from building low-cost housing projects in their neighborhood. This seems to be a poignant example of the fact that discrimination on the basis of income or social class is not the same as discrimination on the basis of race, color, and religion. The former is legal, while the latter is not.[23]

The point to be made is that many of the problems experienced by urban blacks are related more closely to class background than they are racial discrimination. This particular understanding does not lessen in any way the impact of such problems as poverty and unemployment on the black community in many of our nation's cities, but it certainly helps to more accurately identify the true source of the problem. Public policy that is predicated invariably on presumptions of racial discrimination fail, in many cases, to sense the ebb and flow of an economy that feeds on a steady supply of unemployed people. This impacts both blacks and whites and has nothing to do with one's racial category.[24] While socially mobile blacks benefit in the market place from statistical allocation, or any other prescriptive measure designed to relieve disproportionality, lower class black people do not. Furthermore, it is altogether possible that the continued emphasis on racial discrimination as the source of all social ill will only delay the implementation of effective political action that alleviates the over-burdensome conditions of class in American society.

Edward C. Banfield, Professor of Urban Government at Harvard University, has framed his analysis of the urban crisis in respect to class rather than race and has concluded that class issues quite often have been mistaken for race issues:

> The "upgrading" of some neighborhoods will often mean the "downgrading" of others. As more and more Negroes withdraw into middle-and-upper-class communities, the concentration of the lower class in the slum will necessarily increase. Very probably the "worsening" of the slum will be seen not as a consequence of the improved position of the Negro generally, but rather as further evidence of callousness and neglect by the "white power structure".[25]

As Banfield further suggests, the progressive isolation of the lower classes in slum areas is a problem of immense proportion, but "it is hard to see what can be done about it. The upper classes will continue to want to separate themselves physically from the lower, and in a free country they probably can not be prevented from doing so".[26]

Class issues have been cloaked effectively by the school desegregation process. many of the court-ordered plans for racial balance in public school systems across the country are justified, in part, on a commitment to raising black achievement levels. The validity of this assumption notwithstanding, desegregation to improve school achievement seems, on the surface, to be

more of a class issue than a race issue, unless, of course, one wants to assume that all blacks are low-achievers.

There is ample evidence at this time to suggest that not even low-achieving black students benefit from desegregation plans to improve racial balance. Nancy St. John, author of *School Desegregation: Outcomes for Children*, reviewed more than 100 studies on the effects of desegregation on children's educational achievement, their self-image, and racial attitudes. St. John discovered that the achievement benefits of racially balanced schools were minimal at best and in some instances did not exist at all.[27] These more recent studies have caused James Coleman, whose Coleman report in the sixties supported many court-ordered plans for racial balance, to recant his earlier views on the achievement level value of school integration:

> The achievement benefits of integrated schools appeared substantial when I studied them in the middle 1960's. But subsequent studies of achievement in actual systems that have desegregated, some with a more rigorous methodology than we were able to use in 1966, have found smaller effects, and in some cases none at all. I believe the achievement benefits do exist; but they are not so substantial that in themselves they demand school desegregation. . . . [28]

This is startling news when you consider the tremendous number of people whose lives have been altered, and are being altered, by formulas for racial balance which, it may now be stated, have been based, in part, on a myth.

A favorite conceit of liberal educators is to explain the absence of increased achievement for blacks in desegregated schools in terms of the desegregation-integration distinction; "desegregation" defined as the simple mixing of bodies and "integration" the truly humanitarian goal of racial interaction in an equitable society. The claim is made that blacks are resegregated within the school buildings once racial balance is approached. The distinction, of course, suggests that a different and more subtle form of racial discrimination is behind low black achievement levels.

The new pattern of discrimination is usually couched in terms of minority isolation in desegregated schools, isolation that results from individual or institutional forms of discrimination that impact minority students disproportionately. Low achievement is explained in terms of the inability of black students to become involved more intimately with their white counterparts in school activities. This only begs the question. Minority isolation is always presumed to be the deed of racial discrimination. While this might be true in some instances, it is doubtful that it is true in all. The concept of black culture immediately comes to mind at this point. The maintenance of ethnic world views always demand that some sense of separation exist between one group and another. Choice, then, is just as logical an explanation as discrimination is for minority isolation. The other question is whether it is necessary to be intimately involved with "white" students to experience higher levels of achievement. No one needs to be reminded again of the painful history of racism in America, but one has to wonder to what degree racism still contributes to problems experienced by much of the black community. While the desegregation-integration distinction supplies new unexplored territory for a legion of "concerned" social engineers, it fails to weigh the importance that transcending the residuals of a racist social order has for black identity.[29]

The belief that disproportionality invariably indicates discrimination fosters the image of black people as emotionally unstable and psychologically

maladjusted. The absence of adequate minority representation in any segment of social activity is viewed as the end result of discrimination and not as the end result of rational decision-making on the part of black citizens.[30] As sick people, blacks are never held accountable for their actions. The message conveyed here is that the choices black people have made reflect an inability to cope with life in a normal and satisfactory manner because of a society that continues to cause them emotional sickness. From this frame of reference, black people are never seen as "doers" fully accountable for their actions as rational thinking individuals, but as people who have things done to them. This can only be viewed as debilitating for black identity. A colleague of mine, who happens to be a black social scientist, used to remind me of the difference between Southern and Northern racism. In the South, He suggested, white people would claim simply that "them Niggers are crazy". In the North, however, the design is to view blacks more compassionately, but hardly less patronizingly by suggesting they are "socially and psychologically maladjusted". The difference between the two forms of racism is immense, but neither one is conducive to constructing a positive image of blackness, an image that reflects the ability of black people to successfully manage their own fate and destiny. As it is, the current perspective looks upon the black population as needing constant care and supervision.

Indicative of the dilema surrounding race issues, or for that matter many other issues in a society dominated by the liberal scientific world view, is the public response, to the convicted black murderer. Liberal humanists view the event one way while their more conservative counterparts view it in another. Liberals accent the part that a repressive society plays in determining human behavior while deemphasizing individual accountability. Conservatives, on the other hand, stress the responsibility of the individual to make rational choices, emphasizing individual accountability. The dilema resides in the degree individuals are to be held accountable for their actions.

Both views have their elements of merit, but few would argue that the liberal view does not dominate the methodology used to treat "race" issues. The act of killing another human being is viewed habitually by well-meaning liberals from the context of the "black experience" and not as a malicious act of violence committed against another person. From this perspective, it is not a black person that goes to trial, but the entire black community. The image of blackness projected from this set of events is one that relieves black people of the full responsibility for their social acts. This can only have a negative impact on black identity, from the perspective of both black people and other groups of people who witness these events.

In some quarters, the preceding pronouncements may be misconstrued as indicating black intellectual inferiority. If discrimination is not the culprit behind disproportionality, a reasoning mind might conclude that the problem lay in the inability of black people to compete intellectually on a level comparable to other groups. Nothing could be further from the truth. There is no evidence, past or present, which proves beyond a reasonable doubt that black people are intellectually inferior to other people. Besides, low I.Q. has never been a very good argument in justification of poverty either. It takes far more courage than brains to survive the stultifying routine of a well-paying factory job.

The System of Social Rewards

The employment of disproportionate impact as a measure of discrimination serves the advancement of an American caste system and threatens the status of the meritocratic ideal and a social order premised on individual achieved status guaranteed through equal opportunity. Group consciousness which can be viewed as a child of the tumultuous 1960's has been manifested most visibly in Federal policy that confers status on certain minority groups making individual members of these groups eligible for preferential treatment. Most notable are those policies guaranteeing preferential treatment on the basis of race and sex. The policies of a meritocratic social order that sought to guarantee the right to political participation, to education, and to jobs irrespective of racial, ethnic, or sex status are being abandoned in favor of policies that reward on the basis of race, ethnicity, or sex. This signifies a shift from individual to group rights in the formation of social policy.

Special treatment has come to mean the establishment of quotas and other forms of preferential hiring as a way of making minority people representative at designated levels of political and economic activity. Apart from the fact that standards are modified to accomodate minority demands, the inescapable assumption of the new hiring principle "is that minority persons are less qualified and could not compete with others, even if given a sufficient margin".[31] Not to mention the psychological impact of being hired on the basis of one's race or sex rather than achievement, the new hiring principle has done nothing to dispell unwarranted racial stereotypes that have plagued minority identity in the past, stereotypical attitudes that whites hold about blacks and other minorities and that blacks and other minorities hold about themselves.

The impact of preferential hiring on minority identity, notwithstanding, "the quotas themselves", suggests Daniel Bell, "are no simple matter".

> If "representation is to be the criterion of position, then what is the logic of extending the principle only to women, Blacks, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, Filipinos, Chinese, and Japanese (the categories in the HEW guideline)? Why not to Irish, Italians, Poles, and other ethnic groups? And if representation is the criterion, what is the base of representation? At one California state college, as John Bunzel reports, the Mexican-Americans asked that 20 per cent of the total work force be Chicanos, because the surrounding community is 20 per cent Mexican-American. The black students rejected this argument and said that the proper base should be the State of California, which would provide a different mix of blacks and Chicanos. Would the University of Mississippi be expected to hire 37 per cent black faculty because that is the proportion of blacks in the population of Mississippi? And would the number of Jews in most faculties in the country be reduced because the Jews are clearly overrepresented in proportion to their number?
>
> And if ethnic and minority tests, why not religion or political beliefs as the criteria of balanced representation? Governor Reagan of California has said that conservatives are highly underrepresented in the faculties of the state universities, a fact evident when the political coloration of those faculties is compared with voting results in California; should conservatives therefore be given preference in hiring? And should particular communities be asked to support the teaching of certain subjects (or the presence of certain books in school libraries) which are repugnant to the beliefs of that community—a question first raised in the Virginia House of Burgesses and a principle restated by the Tennessee legislature in the 1920's in barring the teaching of evolution in a Fundamentalist state?[32]

While debating the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, Congresswoman Edith Green of Oregon explained why she could not support the proposal to increase the powers of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission unless there was an accompanying amendment prohibiting quotas:

> Title VII of the Civil Rights Act has always prohibited the establishment of quotas. During the legislative history of the Civil Rights Act it was clearly the Congressional intent not to bring about civil rights for some by denying civil rights to others. . . .
>
> I talked to the Chairman of the Committee . . . and . . . said it would be impossible for me to support the Committee bill . . . without . . . a Congressional prohibition against . . . any quota system.
>
> Let me tell you of three instances . . .
>
> In my own city of Portland, we have a ship conversion plant.
>
> In the Portland area we have, perhaps, 5 or 6 percent black population. This ship conversion plant has records to prove they have employed 15 percent minority people. As a matter of fact they have carried on an active recruitment program-seeking out members of minority groups.
>
> The Contract Compliance Office in San Francisco came into Portland, and they said they would not be eligible for any Federal contracts unless they would have 15 percent minority employees in every single job category . . .
>
> There was absolutely nothing that this ship conversion plant could do to satisfy the Office of Contract Compliance in San Francisco unless they followed their orders. This required the "dumping" of labor contracts-of negotiations which had been made; seniority rights were ignored. All this was never the intent of the Civil Rights Act, and it was never the intent of the Congress . . .
>
> . . . A year ago last December a group of Oregon parents who are stationed in Washington, D.C. by the Department of the Military came into my office to talk about the situation in the schools which their children attend . . . (One of the complaints was that in three months one class had had seven substitute teachers.)
>
> I said, "Well, how can that be?"
>
> She said, "Under the Skelly-Wright decision we had to have a quota of black and white teachers and as a regular teacher we cannot hire a white teacher. We must hire as a regular teacher a black teacher." No qualified black teacher is available for this position. They are already teaching in other schools . . .
>
> A third instance: A teacher here in the District schools-whom I know very well-asked for a transfer to another high school because they had moved out close to another high school. She applied, and the principal who received her application said they could not hire her.
>
> She said, "Be very candid with me. Is my race against me?"
>
> And the principal said, "Yes . . . A quota has been set up . . . "[33]

The Congresswoman's admonishment against quotas seems to have been in vain since much of public policy today is built on special considerations for race, sex, and ethnic categories.

Affirmative Action which originally was meant to guarantee opportunity for minority individuals now means the guarantee of results, equal distribution according to group representation even in the absence of discrimination. Sociologist Nathan Glazer is perhaps more to the point:

> "Affirmative Action" originally meant that one should not only not discriminate, but inform people one did not discriminate; not only treat those who

> applied for jobs without discrimination, but seek out those who might not apply. . . . In the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it was used to mean something else—the remedies a court could impose when some employer was found guilty of discrimination, and they could be severe. The new concept of "affirmative action" that has since emerged and has been enforced with ever greater vigor combines both elements:
>
> It assumes that everyone is guilty of discrimination; it then imposes on every employer the remedies which in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 could only be imposed on those guilty of discrimination.[34]

It seems ironic that the systematic racial discrimination that black people have fought against for so long has become an important plank in the political program of some of the most influential black leaders in America. The only difference is that they find themselves on the other side of the fence this time.

The painful side effects of public policy based on the new definition of affirmative action are just beginning to be felt. As it has become more important to be a member of a particular group, the pursuit of excellence has become less important. Reward on the basis of race, sex, or ethnicity deadens the desire to excel in both those who are favored by categorization and those who are not. The former group does not need to excel while the latter considers it fruitless. The long run consequences of policy measures like the above result in the glorification of mediocrity. The managerial complexities of such an exercise will create as many if not more problems than it ever hopes to solve.

Political Freedom in a Democratic Society

Basic political freedoms are being compromised by the tendency to equate disproportionate impact with racial and ethnic discrimination. Instead of expanding freedom for individuals, policies of this kind have worked to restrict it. The expansion of governmental bureaucracy into previously non-politicized areas of social life offers a serious challenge to previously understood private rights. Included among these are the right to live in the community of one's choice, and the right to choose where and how one's child will be educated.

Historically, public education has followed closely behind the larger institutional order in the twentieth century by adopting the corporate bureaucratic model of organization. This, in itself, has had a tremendous impact on the nature of private institutions in American life. Compulsory publicly-sponsored instruction conceived along the lines of corporate organization assumed many of the responsibilities formerly held by the family, the church, and local community organizations.[35] This represented the rise of an official all-embracing public ideology at the expense of private ideology in all of its forms. The continual growth of the public sector represents a constant reminder of the diminishing freedoms American citizens have exercised in years past.

The expansion of the public sector has its roots in the longstanding liberal dream of centralized authority respective to the family of man ideal. The use of positive state power to shape and control the relations of its citizens has as its referent point the more abstract and universal concept of human community that transcends the more concrete and particularistic forms of human association. Liberal architects of a cooperative and harmonious community, including the professional educator, claim authority over the

lesser associations of citizens and their right to maintain their own distinctive tastes and preferences.

While the growth of the public sector represents a redefinition of previously understood private rights, it also has proved to be an inherently alienating experience for a good many citizens seeking to establish a personal sense of identity for themselves. This, of course, results from the shrinkage of the private sphere in relation to the dominant growth of the public sector. Keepers of the public trust have argued ceremoniously that personal identity be drawn from the abstract qualities of a distinctly united and progressive American national community dedicated to improving the quality of human life. Without digging into the complicated issues surrounding the nature of progress, let it suffice to say that community sentiment of this kind is somewhat removed from the concrete substance of everyday experience. This form of community is experienced at a level that transcends primary interpersonal relationships, and, as such, has an existence independent of these experiences. In other words, the daily routine of the individual may be a reflection of the liberal sense of community, but in no way represents a projection of that same experience. Community experienced at this level represents an act of faith quite similar to religious celebration, but without the freedom to define its meaning for one's personal life.

The growth of the public sector has also had the tendency to erode the presence of custom, tradition, and sense of place in the lives of individuals. As the Federal Court system and government bureaucrats continue to manufacture public policy on the basis of disproportionate impact, people who are already alienated to a great degree from the institutions that govern their lives will only resent it all the more when social policy works to void through various "desegregation" plans the special relationship that local communities have with their respective schools and the right of parents to send their children to the schools of their choice.

Those who interpret the preceding commentary as that of the hopeless romantic who yearns for the more traditional personal relationships reminiscent of preindustrial America are quite mistaken in this judgment. I think it is safe to assume that, for the most part, those days are behind us.[36] The intention was only to suggest that a sense of place reinforced by the support of custom and tradition is critically important in the development of individual identity. Given the precarious nature of modern identity, it would seem worthwhile to respect the integrity of custom and tradition as necessary features of personality development.[37]

This seems to be particularly true for the twenty or so million black people who have migrated from the agricultural regions of the South to the urban-industrial areas of the North since 1940. This represents one of the greatest periods of social dislocation in American history. Cut free from the traditional institutions that had offered some degree of stability to their lives, black people migrated into new areas of habitation for which life in the South had not prepared them. Racial discrimination and high levels of unemployment only made a bad situation worse. Much has been written about the effects of the urban experience on the black family, but this is much the result of the lack of other institutional supports that, at one time, had affirmed the black family structure.

The purpose of this statement has been to clarify the issues regarding disproportionate impact and social inequality. Essential to this cause is to avoid the pitfalls of earlier programming in student discipline that has assumed the inevitable relationship between disproportionality and racial discrimination, the long-term consequences of which may have more negative effects than the original discipline problem.[38]

The social reformer who has established disproportionate impact as the base for solving the problems of social inequality has been performing a very important political function in a corporate economy highlighted by constant social dislocation and high levels of unemployment. Without a doubt, racial discrimination always has been a serious and persistent problem in American history, but, by itself, cannot account for the recurring disturbances that characterize the urban malaise. Headed by corporate elites who began to promote a more enlightened view of race, largely for economic reasons not humanistics ones, the Civil Rights movement of the sixties was successful in mobilizing public sentiment to attack the evils of white racism in American society, a problem that seemed to be the source of enduring suffering in the nation's cities.[39]

The battle against racial prejudice has had definite marked success in stabilizing the career goals of black middle class Americans, but the story is not quite as interesting for the lower class black population. If anything, the Civil Rights Movement, and subsequent reform measures addressing "racial" problems, has made a growing number of poor institutionally dependent on an expanding social welfare system that has not solved the truly depressing problems of the urban poor. Programs used to address disproportionate impact, including job promotional formulas based on race or sex, fit squarely within this school of reform thought. As Bayard Rustin has observed, the solution to racial conflict is not a matter of taking a white man's job and giving it to a black, but of providing jobs, housing, and educational opportunities for both.[40] The same logic can be applied to formulas for sex equity that award jobs to women on the basis of sex rather than achievement. Likewise, ignoring the indiscretions of minority children or making the school a more "positive" environment to remedy the disproportionate impact of the discipline process on black or brown children is to compound the problems of these children by refusing to recognize that the schooling process does not have a solution to problems that have their origin outside of the school.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Office of Education, *Application for Local Educational Agency Grants Under the Emergency School Aid Act*, OE Form 116-7, 1978, p. F60.

[2] This study is written as part of an ongoing federally funded program to investigate student discipline in the desegregated school setting. The P.E.A.S.D. is one of the programs funded by the Federal Government and sponsored by the Indiana University School of Education.

[3] Office of Education, *Application for Local Educational Agency Grants Under the Emergency School Aid Act*, p. F2.

[4] Ibid, p. F2.

[5] Ibid, p. F2. It should be mentioned that the Senate Report directly refers to socio-economic as well as racial and ethnic separation. Whether deliberate or undeliberate, socio-economic separation is a completely different problem from the intentional

and illegal segregation of students and faculty by race or ethnicity and should have no bearing on matters regarding minority discrimination. Not to do so obscures the sharp distinction between racism and classism in American society.

[6] Peter Berger, *Facing Up to Modernity: Excursions in Society, Politics, and Religion*, New York, 1977, p. 49.

[7] One can dispute, though, Berger's contention that the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. the Board of Education*, 1954 was clearly *proscriptive* in its remedy. The Court's heavy reliance on a social and psychological affirmation of racial inequality rather than a legal affirmation readily contributed to the subsequent legal confusion as to the nature of the segregated condition. Did segregation emerge from legal mandate or from the simple absence of one race, noteably black, in the student body of the public school?

[8] Andrew Greely, *Building Coalitions*, New York, 1974, p. 366.

[9] Richard Krickus, *Pursuing the American Dream: White Ethnics and the New Populism*, Garden City, New York, 1976, p. 297.

[10] Greeley, *Building Coalitions*, p. 366.

[11] Robert E. Hall and Richard A. Kasten, "The Relative Occupational Success of Blacks and Whites," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, 1973, p. 118.

[12] *Social Indicators of Equality for Minorities and Women: A Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights*, August, 1978, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., pp. 12-13, 30-31.

[13] Consult Michael Harrington, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States*; Richard Krickus, *Pursuing the American Dream: White Ethnics and the New Populism*, Garden City, New York, 1976.

[14] Amicus Curaie Brief for Petitioners at p. 5. *School Board of Richmond, Va. v. State Board of Education of Va.*, F 2d (4th Circuit, 1972).

[15] Ibid, p. 4.

[16] At the time of this writing the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals has upheld Federal Judge S. Hugh Dillin's order to reassign some 9,000 black pupils from Indianapolis Public Schools to suburban school systems in Marion County, Indiana. Cited discriminatory actions were those of the Indiana General Assembly which created countywide government in 1969 that did not include consolidation of the county's eleven school districts, and the Marion County Housing Authority's policy to locate all public housing projects within the boundaries of IPS. While it is clear that these actions left a high concentration of blacks within the city limits, it is not clear whether these actions were rooted in racial considerations. Presumably these actions could have been explained in a number of different ways. This is not to say that race was not a primary consideration in these actions, it is only to point out that this was never established.

[17] *Amicus Curaie* Brief, p. 7.

[18] Derrick A. Bell, Jr., *Race, Racism, and American Law*, Boston, 1973, pp. 558-559.

[19] Nathan Glazer, *Affirmative Discrimination*, New York, 1975, p. 117.

[20] James S. Coleman, "Racial Segregation in the Schools: New Research with New Policy Implications," *Phi Delta Kappan*, October, 1976, p. 76.

[21] *Detroit Free Press*, April 15, 1980, p. 1A.

[22] *Shannon v. HUD*, 436 F.2d. 809 (3d Cir. 1970).

[23] The Supreme Court in *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriquez* [411 U.S. 1 (1973)] ruled that wealth or "lack of personal resources" is not a suspect classification since it could not be proved that it occasioned an "absolute deprivation" of the desired benefit. The Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment does not require absolute equality or equal advantages.

[24] It will probably be argued that unemployment, poverty, and other forms of urban social ills impact the black population disproportionately. This can not be denied if one makes the simple separation between the black and white racial category. But if in the analysis there is some attempt to hold for income, educational background, or geographical origin, it even may be possible to find that some white groups are just as worse off socially and economically as some black groups. The assumption here is that there are different kinds of black people and different kinds of white people.

[25] Edward C. Banfield, *The Unheavenly City Revisited*, Boston, 1968, p. 84.

[26] Ibid, p. 85. Banfield originally made this statement in 1968, and consequently, it came before the more recent attempt in the 1970's by the Federal government to impose affirmative quotas in the area of housing to overcome residential segregation. See Nathan Glazer, *Affirmative Discrimination*, especially pp. 130-168.

[27] Nancy H. St. John, *School Desegregation: Outcomes for Children*, New York, 1975.

[28] Coleman, "Racial Segregation in the Schools." p. 77.

[29] This seems to be the principle behind Jesse Jackson's Operation P.U.S.H. Reverend Jackson rightly senses the fact that the social psychological need of black people to assume the inevitability of failure because of white racism can be just as defeating for black identity as malicious racial discrimination. If someone continues to believe they are beaten before the contest begins, chances are their every fear will prove to be true. While racist intentions are disappearing from American social life, many black people continue to hang on to the degrading belief that they are inferior to white people. This is one of the more unfortunate reminders of how deep white racism has penetrated the black mind.

[30] It is doubtful that perfect proportionate representation will ever occur given the number of black people in America and the fact that different tastes, preferences, and choices made will most often vary from one segment of a large population to another. Unless the federal government assumes an ever increasing role in assigning status (determining tastes, preferences, and choices), there is no reason to believe that a perfect mix will ever be obtained or that it is a valuable social goal to pursue.

[31] Daniel Bell, "On Meritocracy and Equality," *The Public Interest*, Fall, 1972, p. 37.

[32] Ibid, pp. 37-38.

[33] *Legislative History of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972* . . . Prepared by the Subcommittee on Labor of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, 92nd Congress, 2nd session, November 1972, pp. 209-211.

[34] Glazer, *Affirmative Discrimination*, p. 58. I would think that one would profit by referring to the exact wording of specific legislation designed to expand civil rights among "least favored groups." Section 703 (j) of Title VII specifically states:

> Nothing contained in this Title shall be interpreted to require any employer . . . to grant preferential treatment to any individual or to any group because of the race, color, religion, sex, or national origin of such individual or group on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons of any race, color, religion, sex, or national origin employed by any employer. . . .

[35] Consult Joel Spring, *Education and the Rise of the Corporate State*, and Raymond E. Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency* for detailed historical accounts of the development of corporate organization within public education.

[36] My apologies are extended to all of those small towns and locales across America who have retained many of the characteristics of a pre-industrial setting in a post-industrial society. For the most part, though, even these places have had their way of life radically altered by the forces of modernity.

[37] The best statement I have come across on the impact of modernity on individual identity is Peter Berger, *The Homeless Mind*. In addition, Christopher Lasch and R.D. Laing have argued that the modern age is truly the age of the schizophrenic. Consult Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations*, and Laing's book, *The Divided Self*.

[38] One of the more unfortunate examples of an endeavor of this type is the study conducted to investigate disproportionate impact in Kentucky's Jefferson County Public Schools by Professor Frank Bickel. Citing a 4:1 ratio of minority to white student suspensions in the first year after implementation of a court-ordered desegregation plan (an increase from 3:1), Bickel proceeds to suggest that school climate was the major factor that determined the differences in suspension rates between high and low suspension schools. In addition to a number of other conceptual problems with the study, Bickel fails to see that high and low rates of suspension has little or nothing to do with the issue of disproportionate impact (the 4:1 ratio). Conceivably, a low suspension school could suspend as many, if not more, minority students than a high suspension school. Likewise, a high suspension school could have relatively few minority suspensions comparative to white students. Moreover, the problem of disproportionate impact could present itself even in the event that all schools in the study had low suspension rates, by Bickel's own estimation of low suspension. More importantly, the 4:1 ratio of minority to white students probably would decrease to a great extent if the researcher would use, for example, income rather than race as the focal point for impact. In a city the size of Louisville, Kentucky, the incredible diversity of group life, particularly

among whites, makes an analysis along racial lines virtually insignificant. The group experience of the white Southern migrant seeking work in the big city is not quite comparable to the social scenario in which the elite corporate executive and his family walk. See Bickel, "The Impact of School Climate on Suspension Rates in the Jefferson County Schools," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Education Research Association, Boston, Massachusetts, April 7-11, 1980.

[39] Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*, New York, 1971, pp. 227-239.

[40] As quoted in Krickus, *Pursuing the American Dream*, p. 296.

THE EFFECTS OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY ON CHILDREN

Patrick D. Lynch

Educational Policy and Children

Educational policy is by definition broad in scale, providing direction to units which constitute a large system. The larger systems are, the more likely they are to be multicultural or multiethnic. Therefore educational policy for large systems must take into account a range of different interests, values, and objectives.

The application of educational policy, which is macro, inevitably is slowed down by resistance from constituent units. The administrators of the constituent micro units who apply policy inevitably are met with the message that "they don't know us," or "they don't know the reality of this place." "This place is different, that policy won't work here" is common everywhere. The administrator represents that opinion to the policy makers in trying to explain the resistance to policy implementation. The local people are correct. Policy makers don't know how it is out there, and more—they don't want to know the details of each community's peculiarities, or the obstacles which exist in implementing educational policy. If policy makers knew and accepted all of the local variabilities they would probably hesitate to make policy, other than to say—let each unit make its own policy. That was indeed educational policy in the United States until well into the twentieth century. Federal policy mostly didn't exist, and state policy was confined to structural concerns. Local units, even each school, made educational policy.

The explosion in educational policy, beginning in mid twentieth century was due to many factors—the determination to end segregation, a will to attack causes of poverty and discrimination, a fear of falling behind in the world power competition, and many other factors. What makes educational policy in the United States so complex is the fact that there is federal policy, which is quite new, overlaying state policy. Until *Brown* in 1954, states made educational policy. After 1954, a federal policy grew rapidly, and not just with regard to segregation, but also to the curriculum, beginning in 1958 with the National Defense Education Act.

Educational policy is confected at both federal and state levels by courts, legislative bodies and the executive branch which makes administrative law. The last is the most pervasive body of law and also that which stirs most anger, or resistance. Policy creates normative rules, following which lower level units must construct their rules and regulations. There is a hierarchy of policy making agencies, federal over state, but within each level, each branch seeks to make its own mark and is sometimes in conflict with other branches.

Courts create law, but legislatures may try to turn back the courts with sallies at law making. Courts have led the way since 1954, but only since 1954. That could change. The legislative branch might re-establish its power vis-a-vis courts.

With so many policy making agencies, conflict in educational policy is possible not only within a level, as between Congress and courts, but more often, between levels. The conflict in Louisiana saw a state court challenge a federal court, unsuccessfully, but that it happened, now might encourage other state government branches to challenge the federal courts. The federal system is alive and well. States are not powerless; they have ways of slowing down or stopping the implementation of federal law which they really don't want.

The extent of conflict between courts and executive and legislative branches is peculiar to the U.S. Nations in the civil law tradition do not allow their courts to make law or to challenge statutory law or the decreed law of the executive branch. Our educational policy, then, is unusually difficult to define, subject to challenge by other branches or at another level, and evocative of conflict. The Venezuelan code of school law and the regulations of the Ministry are by contrast easy to find, brief, and are applicable everywhere in the nation. The U.S. federal system is a rarity in that states are delegated so much power. Education, everywhere else, with few exceptions, is clearly a national responsibility.

With respect to the substance of educational policy, it is possible to identify some major themes or concepts in the educational policies of many nations, including the United States, in the second half of the Twentieth Century. Among these are:

1. Integration or de-segregation of races, or it may be referred to in some nations as a concept of nationalization. The Supreme Court of the United States since 1964 and the Congress since 1964 has insisted, officially, on non-recognition of separation of races in education, with the exception of federal schools for Indian students. But a smaller proportion of Indian students each year attends the federal Indian schools. Latin American nations proclaim a policy of nationalization in which only the national language is used in schools, and only one "official" race, the Mestizo, or mixed, is recognized. The cultural differences of Native groups is not recognized in the language, or even in the national ideology reflected in textbooks in schools. The new African nations emphasize their unity as societies de-emphasize tribal divisions. All nations have the imperative of reaching for unity across diversity, of preaching common national themes which pull together rather than separate.

   The nation may allow for limited segregation for selected groups on the basis of race or ethnicity but such allowances are tempered by the national ideology which forms part of the curriculum, notably in the social studies.

2. Insistence on the use of the national language as the medium of instruction. Nations have little tolerance for use of a language other than the national language, except to be used as a medium to assist the child in learning the national language. This is the U.S. policy expressed in *Lau v. Nichols*[1], in Andean nations in which Indian languages are used early in

the grades, and in Brazil where German and Italian were dropped except as second languages, during the time of President Vargas. In nations where there is more than one official language, the same principle holds true. In Quebec, the native language of Indian people is tolerated as a cultural artifact, but Indian children are expected to learn French.

3. A national curriculum enforced by national examinations. While the U.S. might seem the exception to this trend, it is in fact not an exception. Federal guidelines to many programs require testing for cognitive outcomes, regardless of any other objectives which might be expressed by the school, or even encouraged by the federal program guidelines. Most other nations have centralized education systems, and nearly all have some kind of guidelines for annual examinations, or actually administer the examinations. Many nations are moving into U.S.-style, objective, end-of-year examinations, down to the one best choice among five. The nearly universal push for measuring cognitive outcomes is a reflection of the fact that nations with centralized ministries of education also tend to have well defined bodies of content or concepts to be covered for each grade. Little attention is paid in national curricula to non-cognitive expectations, and whatever these are are left to be defined by schools or teachers and, blessedly, with no national testing. National policies calling for evaluation (meaning "testing") reflect the universal concern of economic planners for means of measuring educational productivity. National evaluation or testing makes even more concrete and compelling the learning (meaning memorization) of the concepts in the national curriculum. A final concomitant of a national cognitive curriculum—evaluation policy is a widespread confusion or substitution of evaluation for educational research. There is a large core of professionals around the world who do evaluation regularly, but who do not, for lack of time, money or encouragement, do research. I hesitate to rely on the metaphor of good money and bad, but it is a fact that national evaluation displaces, certainly precedes, research.
4. Proclamation of universal schooling, accompanied by means for preventing that policy from being realized. National policy is rhetorical in its intention of providing schooling for everyone under a certain age or grade level, but in few developing nations, mostly socialist nations, that goal is achieved. In nonsocialist nations the rhetoric is not accomplished because of lack of resources devoted to education. The reality of the developing world is usually schooling consistent with manpower development objectives—the system is built only to accommodate a certain number of students. Others enter and fail, or never enter. In many nations, processes for getting rid of students are described, as in the U.S. In some nations rules for protecting the students' rights to schooling are described in detail, and in others, certain acts of schools or school officers are proscribed by law. The law either uses the rationale of pupil control, or greater societal need, such as permits to work or paying for as much of schooling costs as possible, to diminish the goal of universal education. Most nations may proclaim the social benefits of universal education, but most actually follow the manpower model. Economists embrace the new testament quotation "many are called but few are chosen." The implementation of educational policy has been examined by economists, using

production function approaches or dependency theory, and by a few educational sociologists. Relatively little research on the social effects of educational policy is to be found. The obstacles in implementing policy are many and have been identified by social theorists in diverse ways, such as social engineering theory, cultural adaptation or determinism, economic decision theory, motivation theory, communication theory, and political mobilization theory.

The more far-reaching or basic the policy is, the larger the period for implementation and the more definition of the policy is needed for people in lower levels of the system. Policy always requires translation for implementation. Policy left as policy is rhetoric, and changes nothing. Translation of policy to action at community and school levels brings conflict. If national policy could be proclaimed as national intentions, such as universal enrollment, teachers and administrators with untroubled consciences refuse to admit or easily expel students.

In the United States court-made educational policy is different from the type just described. A court rules on specific issues at certain places and prescribes remedies—which some see as harmful for other people than the plaintiffs. Policy made from case law is policy by approximation. That's what makes enemies, or cowards, of us all, at one time or another.

Court-made educational policy offers fewer specific guidelines to administrators, and takes longer to implement, because at any time, court-made policy may be restricted by a new ruling. Courts examine specifics of place and time in the common law system, and consider whether the precedents bind a district in a particular case. Our experience in court-made educational policy, unassisted by legislated or administrative law, is that implementation moves slowly and on a broken front. A few districts respond quickly, most implement it gradually, and some not at all.

Legislated policy and administrative law, the law made by state and local boards of education are more specific, apply with fewer chance of exceptions, and are easier to understand. But the more specific the policy, the more resistance may be expected to it, at least early in the stage of implementation.

The more specific policy happens to be the easier to judge implementation. It is easier to evaluate policy which is specific, but implementation of court-made policy is more difficult to observe and analyze. Implementation guidelines are not the best products of a common law court. Policy which is made with courts leading the way with the principle, on the basis of a case, followed by legislation and administrative guidelines constitute a firmer case for evaluation of implementation.

In a federalist democracy, the tightness of the three way model linking courts, legislative and executive branches with agreement among the three at federal and state levels, is not judged to be ideal by many educational administrators and local board members. At the local level, many administrators or board members crave some elbow room in policy implementation. The complaints about excessively detailed federal guidelines and policy now are echoed in the White House. No matter how much we like or dislike the tightly linked model, it is relatively rare. A looser model of policy, leaving the type and speed of implementation is more common in the U.S., and is more to the liking of administrators. The loose-linked model is more typical, because we live in a society in which there is competition among the three branches of

government, and among federal, state, and local levels for power resources. The loosely-linked elements are the three branches operating on federal and state levels, with considerable amounts of time lag and disagreement on implementation among the three branches at both levels.

Where does implementation of educational policy occur? Administrators and board members discuss implementation, but implementation takes place ultimately with someone doing something for, with, or to students. The unit of analysis may be a dyad (student and professional) or a classroom. In order to understand implementation, there is no escaping the imperative to observe interactions between teachers and students, or between other professionals and students.

Educational policy so far has only superficially changed structural arrangements in education. We imagine the changes related to busing in desegregated systems to be far reaching changes, such as numbers of black and white children in schools, miles traveled, numbers of buses used, and the numbers of buildings closed, but these are only surface phenomena.

The subjects, or objects, of educational policy are students. In our democracy the laboratory for social change is the school. Whether the conscience of the society be stirred by racial segregation, religious confrontation, opportunity for handicapped people, or remediation of poverty, the school is the place where it all comes to bear. Perhaps we feel that children's crusades are preferable to the adult kind. What happens inescapably, as we expect children to be our social pioneers, is that teachers must be the social engineers.

Educational policy is really social-educational policy. Teachers are the true agents of social change. They have to alter their behavior, must adapt to new social expectations. Administrators and board members are involved but as facilitators. The buck stops, not with a school board member, or even a principal, but with a teacher who must radically redesign a classroom to accommodate mainstreamed handicapped children, a racial mixture, or bilingual children, or a combination of all three.

Phyllis Casey is a teacher in Raleigh, North Carolina. She teaches senior high school English. She was a student in Raleigh and graduated from a segregated high school there about ten years ago. As a teacher in an integrated high school she talks about how racial balance is achieved in classrooms each fall. Teachers trade a black girl for a white boy, in order to achieve racial and sex balance. She describes her role as a club advisor, in which role she must see that there are co-presidents, or co-secretaries. She forwards names of co-representatives of the home-room who will serve on the student council. She keeps elaborate records of each student's learning, in case a student who gets a failure warning has parents who will protest, or sue. She has been accused by white kids of being too pro black, and by black kids of being too pro-white.

In her days in the black high school in the 1960's, she learned about black history and great black people. She belonged to black kids' societies. She now is allowed to teach little about black history or black people. There is no Dubois or Martin Luther King club. Her black kids do not know the black national anthem. What has been lost, and why, and how, we don't know, any more than we know what has been gained in the great re-shuffle of kids. Children treated as pawns or objects, or numbers, bothers her intensely. She

knows intimately what has been gained and lost in her corner of America. The thousands of Phyllis Caseys can tell us more about implementation than all the evaluation "shops" in the country.

Phyllis Casey had no preparation and almost no training for coping with the great social experiments which she must now pull off singlehandedly.

A teacher such as Ms. Casey must:

1. Find out the elements of educational policy somehow, from someone.
2. Figure out how social policies inter-relate or clash, and decide which can be implemented at the expense of another.
3. Translate educational policies to what can and must be done in the classroom.
4. Plan and carefully move from present practice to an integration of old and new practice which implements new policy.
5. Figure out how much her students can take, and what risks attend upon implementing new practice in the classroom.
6. Assess how new practice which implements new policy affects each student's learning and classroom socialization.
7. Explain new practice and the results on students to the parents.

That is a brief review of what teachers must do to modify their behavior. Of course some ignore the whole process, and others quit. But only teachers can show us the detailed results of implementation of social-educational policy in schools. Why haven't we heard from more teachers such as Phyllis Casey?

Evaluations of educational policy have been macro evaluations. They also happen to be hard to obtain, something like rare books, both in difficulty of locating them and certainly in price, once you do locate one. Macro evaluations speak to policy, including the restructuring of educational governance and organizations. The fashioning of a macro evaluation resembles policy formation itself, according to Ernest House[2], and others who have studied the phenomenon of large scale evaluations. The triangle of federal administrative agency (usually the contracting office), the legislative staff on Capitol Hill concerned with review of the program, and select personnel administering the program at state or local levels are the parties interested in the outcome. Add to that threesome the concerned professional organizations in Washington, and the cooks can compile a recipe which pleases the taste of the most powerful clients, usually the federal agency. If one of the client groups is likely to become too displeased with the taste, ingredients can be added or left out at the discretion of the cook.

Left out of large scale evaluations are the concerns of parents, teachers and students.

Feedback of opinions concerning a program from those three groups is rare. When it is included in an evaluation, the data are not treated with the reverence accorded the standardized test data or cost data.

The opinions of parents, teachers, and students are valid indicators of a program's impact and utility. If teachers can't understand or reasonably follow the IEP, or the court-ordered norms for balancing race and sex in a classroom, such facts are important. So are the attendant causes of their lack of understanding, whether they be the lack of information presented to teachers in clear English about the policy, or the lack of explanation to teachers

concerning what changes in the school and classrooms will have to take place. Typically, policy is made, and administrators read directives, or read about it in information service bulletins. Teachers are told much later that they will have to begin filling out new forms and accept new students, all of which is overload on what they are already doing. Teachers are expected to invent means of complying with new policy and maintaining the old classroom system at the same time.

A good example is the compliance with P.L.94-142. Mainstreaming, a desirable social-educational policy, has required teachers to accept handicapped children in their classrooms, whom they have not been trained to educate. The teachers must complete the Individual Education Program and explain it to the parents. Few teachers have had more than three hours' orientation to the IEP, its purposes, or its implications. The better a teacher copes with handicapped children in the classroom, the more apt she is to be assigned more handicapped children. The extra children have not meant fewer normal children assigned to that teacher. Methods of instruction, ways and means of monitoring the handicapped child's progress, physical maintenance of the handicapped child, the added possibility of liability for malpractice for the teacher, all have combined to cause a negative opinion of the law by the teachers. The federal policy was not accompanied by sufficient money for training or implementation. The money that was appropriate for implementation and training, as happens with all such funds, was used at higher levels for staffing before it trickled down to training of teachers.

Social-educational policy such as education for the handicapped, bilingual education, and desegregation have taken on a negative loading with teachers and parents, because teachers and schools were not organized to implement the policy. The policy was thrown at school systems, and training for implementation has not even begun to catch up with policy. Evaluations have not warned policy makers of negative effects at the school and classroom, or neighborhood level, because evaluators looked at macro effects, too easily collected, which did not really measure compliance or implementation of policy. Changes in test scores are not valid measures of a certain policy any more than they are measures of an interaction of dozens of policies, old and new.

The faults of macro evaluations are not only that they are not evaluations of a particular policy, any more than of some other policy interacting with it. The science of macro evaluation, riveted to standardized test scores, has not been advanced, conceptually, or in methodology. The evaluations are flawed with respect both to their internal validity, as well as to the unwillingness or inability of the evaluators to attend to advancing the science of education. As a professor I am pleased that universities have had little or nothing to do with the game of policy evaluation in the 1970's. They have been shut out of the bidding process. It is not surprising that the evaluation shops or firms have not advanced the concepts or methodology of evaluation. They have insulated themselves from any influence for change in the theory and methodology of evaluation.

If large scale evaluation of policy is to measure implementation, or compliance, it will have to observe behavior in the smallest possible unit of analysis affected which the policy seeks to influence. Examples are classrooms, families, groups of families, groups of students within classrooms,

and individual student-teacher relationships. Some questions which evaluations should address are the following:

1. How does a school affected by the policy distribute its students to teachers and classrooms?
2. How are teachers and students prepared for the new assignment procedures?
3. How are parents prepared for new assignment procedures?
4. Within classrooms,
   a. have teachers been prepared to cope with new types of students assigned to them as a result of the new policy or program? How is the additional burden distributed and adjusted for, among teachers?
   b. On what basis are students assigned to teachers as a result of the policy or program?
   c. What are the changes in verbal interaction patterns in policy-targeted classrooms between teacher and students with learning problems, and between teacher and other students?
   d. What are the changes in social interactions that occur among students in policy-targeted classroom situations, or in student activities?
   e. What are the changes in the kinds of social interactions that occur among parents of students in policy-targeted schools?
   f. What do students, parents, and teachers think about the changes in their lives and classroom as a result of the new programs?
   g. What do teachers do in policy-targeted classrooms, as a result of the policy or program?
   h. What changes in families' social patterns occur as a result of the program or policy?
   i. Do parents, teachers, students, and administrators in the policy-targeted schools and neighborhoods propose legitimate alternatives to the ways the policy is being implemented?

If the evaluation of policy is truly open to alternatives (goal-free in Scrivens' terms), the people most affected can speak out, propose alternatives, even participate actively in policy evaluation.

The values of the people affected must be taken into account if policy is to be implemented successfully. Policy evaluators who behave as technicians ignore data such as values, preferences and common sense of parents and teachers. We may not be observing massive resistance to busing for desegregation, bilingual programs, or mainstreaming handicapped children in classrooms, so much as a revolt by the subjects for being treated as objects. The parents, teachers and students, convinced of the need for changed educational policy know far better how to accomplish it than the technicians who are designing and evaluating the implementation of it.

Policy planners see the system implementing the policy as being a pyramid, with the people at the bottom being evaluated and not participating in planning implementation. Organizational theorists such as Argyris, Bennis, and Havelock argue the benefits of participative management as being mainly better productivity. Those who implement policy at the "bottom" know best where the resistance is and how to solve the problem of resistance.

They know best how to design the small-scale incremental methodology necessary to accommodate new kinds of clients in new settings. But they need help, they need to be listened to, and they have a lot of answers. The evaluators don't have them and the policy planners are too remote to design implementation at the micro level of the classroom and hallway, playground and neighborhood. The real problems plaguing us are that evaluators don't listen, don't look at what's going on, and report to the top policy people massive failure when in fact there are difficulties which no one is trying to overcome.

Children are being treated as objects of social policy. They have something to say about how to implement educational policy. Participative management of schools, and participative evaluation management need to include children. They know what is happening to them when policies require that they change their social patterns. While the law has been zealous in defending the rights of children against teachers and parents, it is possible that the children are being stripped of the help of those who know and love them most. The results of the common law campaign to give children more civil rights needs to be examined carefully by observing what is happening to children in classrooms, families, and on the streets. If children are given their full civil rights they may be victimized in ways that courts cannot prevent. The power of the family and school to help them will be severely curtailed. It may be time to find out from children themselves what they feel about achieving more extensive civil rights. Some participative evaluation needs to be done on the effects of courts' decisions so far as the children's role in families and with other adults.

We really don't know the effect of educational policy on children. We have many studies which show achievement changes and some which show changes in self esteem, or occupational choice, or satisfaction with school over short periods of time, but we really don't have deep analyses which show how children's lives and personalities are affected by policy. For that, micro analyses which examine children in their actual setting are required. Macro analyses have kept the test industry in good economic shape, and helped policy makers sell programs to the Congress, but it's time we got some really valid information on the people affected.

References

[1] *Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).

[2] Ernest R. House. *Evaluating with validity*. Beverley Hills, Sage Publications, 1980.

Part IV
Futuristic Perspectives

COMMUNITY DATA COLLECTION, THE RESEARCHER, AND SCHOOL DISCIPLINE

Frank Brown

Introduction

The problem of community-based data collection for school research is two fold: (1) who should collect data and, (2) what should be the purpose of that research. In addition to these basic concerns, the chapter will assess the possible use of these data to improve school discipline. School discipline was selected to illustrate the value of community data collection for schools because both educators (Alschuler, 1980; Dorman 1981; Bybee & Bee, 1982; & Stradley, 1981) and parents (Elam, 1980) suggest that school discipline must be improved in order to improve school effectiveness. Most areas cited as a potential cause of school discipline involve many attitudes and behaviors that may originate outside of the school, such as: peer relationships; dating and sex related problems; testing; attention-getting; poor personal habits; fighting; stealing; smoking, drugs, and consuming alcohol; minority-majority conflicts; disrespect for authority; tardiness and truancy; lack of pride; and misuse of materials and equipment. These potential disciplinary causing areas may be traced to the home and community; and therefore, advice on their solutions may be sought in the home and community about appropriate strategies to be used by school people in solving these problems at school. It should also be emphasized that a ten year review of the Gallup Opinion Polls (Elam, 1980) of the public's attitude toward education revealed that discipline was cited each year as a major concern of the public.

Research and Schools

Much has been written about the purpose of school and community based research (Alkins, 1979; Abt, 1976 & Thompson, 1976). McNamara (1977) addresses the topic and define academic research in schools as different from operational research in schools. "In practice, operational research is typically an intra-school-agency initiative while academic research is an extra-school-agency initiative" (McNamara, 1977:1).

Unfortunately, there is little written about community school research. Probably the most widely known research done with respect to the community (nation) is the Gallup Opinion Poll. The Gallup Poll of public's attitudes toward the public schools began in 1968. The survey measures the attitudes of Americans toward their public schools. The findings of the report apply only to the United States as a whole, and not to individual local communities Although Gallup states that surveys using the same questions may be conducted in local communities to determine how local areas compare with

national norms, rarely have schoolpersons tapped into this vast wealth of information available by surveying the local community.

Even in the face of declining enrollments with its concomitant problems of decommissioning schools, as well as defeated budgets; we have not as schoolpersons sought information on the attitudes and opinions of the people in the community. That is not to say that we ignore them entirely, we do have such things as public hearings, but only the "active" public attends (Jennings, 1968). We have too long depended on people who are natural advocates of the public schools i.e., Parent-Teacher-Association and other groups who are perceived as legitimate by the school. These public hearings emerge from the issue(s) at stake being placed on the public agenda, and too often, school personnel can only offer perhaps two alternatives. It would be to our advantage to have information about the issue(s) before they are placed on the public agenda, and perhaps before they even emerge as issues. Schoolpersons as researchers or researchers hired by the school can begin to collect the type of information needed to improve the educational process.

There are two ways of approaching the problem outlined above. One may begin by concentrating on the role which the researcher plays in providing the district and community with important information. The other approach is to deal with the data collecting process itself. The two are not mutually exclusive, but are interdependent. Good research designs usually facilitate the ease of good data collection. So I shall approach both topics simultaneously.

Hobbs (1978) suggests that the major consideration of the researcher is that (s)he understands what it is (s)he is researching and why. From these two understandings, the research process follows. If we believe that it is the obligation of the school to include all citizens in the process of decision making, then the researcher must then gauge his/her method of data collection to assess the specific attitudes and values of the community. Because we live in a multicultural and multiethnic community, it is now imperative for the school district to be in tune with those who have a stake in education. For too long the policymaking process has been controlled by elites, that is the small group of people who were the most vocal about what schools should do on specific issues. These vocal minorities have been perceived by many schoolpersons as speaking for the majority (Taylor & Helmer, 1979). In this decade the use of research to ascertain the feelings, attitudes, and values of citizens will furnish much more information for making realistic decisions by school personnel.

While gaining general information about community attitudes about their schools are useful, we need to design more specific questions which address specific issues. Open ended questions such as, how do you feel about the schools may have some benefit, but more pointed questions about specific programs or specific problems would yield more useful information. The general question has the problem of pushing the respondent into an opinion which may or may not be truly held, but he may respond to the question as he thinks it should be answered. Bogart (1976) calls this assuming a role for the interviewer. The other side of the coin is that some people have not formulated an opinion. "To what extent do typical . . . issue polls give anything like true opinions? How meaningful are survey data that emerge from uninformed, apathetic, and indecisive individuals who have conflicting opinions

on the same issue, tailor their views to the roles they are playing and lack any sense of responsibility for, or feeling of personal engagement to the subject matter of the survey?" (Bogart, 1967:331). Another phenomenon which occurs is what Fein (1978) suggests in surveying people who are alienated from the institution in question. The feeling of powerlessness which many poor and minority people have toward community institutions may bias the research. The researcher must be cognizant of these considerations when designing a study.

There are three types of research which can be utilized to obtain information. The document search, the case study, and field survey (Conway, Jennings & Milstein, 1974). Each method has its distinct advantages. For the educational researcher dealing with the community, the most prevalent method is that of field survey. The advantage of the survey method is its ability to obtain information from a large number of people. Since collecting data from the community can be analogous to opinion polls, and for all intents and purposes is an opinion poll, it would be desirable to use the method of the opinion pollsters (Parten, 1966). One does not want to rule out entirely the document search, for in this case the school may have some information already available. Socio-Economic Status (SES), grades, parental employment, occupation and educational levels of parents are already available in most school districts, as well as research reported by other school districts through state publications and other sources. This can be supplemented by the use of survey research to get information which school districts consider most relevant.

The role of the researcher is crucial. It is up to the researcher, to ask the hard questions of school personnel. (S)he must be sure that the problem or issue which they need information about is 1) obtainable through survey methods, and 2) is worth investment of time and money to obtain. The researcher is responsible for focusing the research, the design of questions, and analysis. In an urban community, where the population is large, the researcher may need many assistants to help him/her carry out the project. The determination of the "what" and "why" of the research influences the research methodology.

In the conduct of field survey, one can choose from three basic techniques or a combination of the three; or one of the three supplemented by document search, or ethnography. The survey method is based on a series of questions to get a desired opinion, attitude or information necessary to solve a problem or provide information toward a decision. Mouly (1978) suggests that data collected by survey method is decision oriented. Therefore, the survey method would seem appropriate for administrators to make policy decisions.

The survey method may be conducted by means of personal interviews. Face to face contact has the advantage of the interviewer being able to explain any ambiguities in the wording of the questions. This method is the most costly in terms of time and money. The interviewers must be properly trained to collect data, in terms of attitudes, and opinions. The interviewers must also take visual cues from the informants to ascertain their "true feelings" (Parten, 1966).

The telephone interview is probably the most economical with a population. One must be careful about sampling procedures because every home may not have a telephone, while others have two or three, each with separate

numbers. According to Parten (1966), the telephone interview must have short compact questions which are easily answered. The questionnaire must also be short, for if it is too long the respondent may become tired and hang up. The other shortcoming of the telephone interview is credibility of both the respondent and the interviewer. Groves (1979) has suggested that a reason for low response rates may be due to the lack of personal contact and uneasiness about discussing sensitive topics. In his article "Telephone and Personal Interview Surveys" he posits that a method of overcoming the constraints of the telephone survey might be a method which requires filling the audio medium with an introduction analogous to the information received by persons interviewed by personal interview.

The mailed questionnaire, by far the most popular, due to ease of distribution, also has drawbacks. The mailed questionnaire suffers from the problem of returns. Davis & Nash (1978) suggests that contrary to commonly held notions, nonresponse may not be due to apathy, failure of the mail system, or loss of survey forms, but due to a complex system of prevarication. In their study, they explored the perceptions of potential subjects as to why they had not responded to a particular survey request concomitant to measuring the extent of the discrepancy between truth and prevarication (Davis & Nash, 1978:1). They found that professors often make up prevarications for why they have not completed, in this case, a make-believe questionnaire. Thus, drawing a conclusion that people, regardless of educational background, are reluctant to return mailed questionnaires.

After having selected a method of collecting data, the researcher must now consider which model of data collection will yield the most benefit to the district. In large urban communities the community is composed of various ethnic groups. This may present a problem for data collection. The alienation felt by various segments of the community toward research, as well as a general distrust of outsiders may present a problem which should be addressed. The urban poor are usually reluctant to respond to survey material because of a general lack of confidence felt toward community institutions (Fein, 1970). The nonresponsive rate may be high for this population. Perhaps, because they are the group that is normally disenfranchized in terms of school participation, they are the ones whose opinion needs to be heard. The method used by Schwartz (1970) in dealing with this problem was to utilize community leaders and influentials to publicize the survey prior to its actually taking place. This way he was able to gain some credibility and confidence from the people with whom he had to request interviews. He recommended that a field head-quarters in the neighborhood staffed with a field supervisor of the same ethnic group as the people being surveyed be established. He suggests that the personal interview is more viable with this group, it is wise to obtain interviewers if possible. This is not always possible, because some people may not possess the education necessary to complete a successful interview. Local leaders, however, have contacts in the community and are frequently able to supply a list of trained local interviewers or of local residents who wish to interview and who have the necessary communications skills. (Schwartz, 1970:269).

While the urban poor may be difficult to collect data from, the researcher must appreciate the reluctance on the part of the poor, and should attempt to find alternative methods for obtaining data from them. Every attempt should

be made to gain their confidence through the use of "word of mouth" communications, if you will, carried by community leaders, and influentials.

A combination of methods was used to obtain data in a study done by Copeland (1976). He began by gaining the confidence of people from whom he was seeking information. He frequented places such as local barber shops and restaurants, following what may best be described as a semi-ethnographic approach. He was working in a section of the city with a high concentration of minorities. Being a member of that particular minority group, and being sensitive to the local language, he was accepted by the locals, thereby facilitating his access to information and distribution of his self-administered questionnaire.

In a study done in New York City, the researchers conducted a pilot study on a section of the city which was described as predominantly nonwhite, and low income. They administered the questionnaire to parents, teachers, administrators, and paraprofessionals from four public schools in the community. The study pointed out differences in belief structures among the different groups surveyed (Gottesfield, 1969). In another study, done in Canada, to ascertain whether schools in a selected community were providing the types of services the community wanted, they used written briefs from both citizens and students, conducted surveys and utilized public meetings to get information about attitudes of the community about services desired (Sakatoon, 1973). Another approach used in another school district was to survey the general population by means of interviews on their opinions regarding certain school system programs and major problems confronting the schools. After the general population data were collected, they then decided to refine and augment those results by surveying specific involved and informed groups regarding four basic topics: 1) priorities of problems facing the school system, 2) priorities of broad program areas, 3) emphasis on solutions to problems and 4) priorities of capital construction needs.

The groups considered informed or involved were: community advisory committees and other community or school-related groups, district administrators, elementary and secondary school principals, and teachers. The researchers found a high degree of consistency between the groups. The problem with this approach is that it seems to be more logical to take a sample of the community which may not be considered informed and/or involved to get a better feel of their desires. But perhaps those informed and involved persons were also sensitive to inputs from the general population (Dade County, 1975). In a study on the attitude of citizens toward public education using telephone interviews with 271 adults, two public forums were held. At both forums 3 panelists responded to the data. They represented the school board, the citizens' advisory committee and the teachers' association. Audiences were made up of citizens from the community. After the first of two forums, the audience was asked to evaluate the format of the forum for purposes of improving the second forum. As a result of this feedback, the second forum was changed slightly. They were also asked to complete an evaluation of the forum. By means of the survey, the forum and the evaluations, five need areas were identified. One was how to improve community input into Board decisions (Kozol, 1977:37).

Other methods have also been suggested for collecting data by school districts. Taylor & Helmer (1977) detailed procedures for researching ques-

tions from the community in their study. A group of citizens called the "sounding board" was formed representing divergent segments of the community. This group served to bridge the gap between school board and the community. Using this group along with teacher representatives, administrators, and school board members, they drafted a series of questions which they felt would adequately get the information needed. They then surveyed the community using the questionnaire generated by the above listed groups. Another possibility suggested by Crockel (1980), similar to the sounding board idea, is that of community/parents advisory boards composed of individuals representing each neighborhood to be utilized as part of a participatory system of decision-making, and also serve as 'informants' as well as school advocates in terms of their respective neighborhoods. Thus they would perform a dual purpose. They would inform the decision makers of any potential displeasures with the schools as well as carry vital information about the schools back into the community. They could also serve as questionnaire distributors and collectors because they would be known in their neighborhoods and may help overcome the suspicious attitude towards this type of activity. Along those same lines, it was posited that perhaps using annual state school census, interviewers could ask questions for the district. The apparent advantage to this method is that trained interviewers are already in place and would require little additional cost to the district.

Buffalo Area Metropolitan Ministeries (BAMM) conducted a survey in 1979 on the community's attitude about education in that city. The methodology used was one of a self administered questionnaire distributed by cluster coordinators. These cluster coordinators were people indigenous to a particular sub-community. The community followed the pattern of councilmatic voting districts which appear to coincide with specific ethnic areas of the city. Whether these community cluster coordinators were community influentials is indeterminant from the study, but one would suspect from the nature of BAMM that these people were deeply involved with all aspects of community life. They were known to neighborhood people because of their work with BAMM, or through their work with other groups within the community. Through the use of these cluster coordinators, the return rate for questionnaires was about 97%. The less than 100% rate was explained by the fact that in spite of an all out effort, some people still refused to participate.

All of these studies attempted to get at broad community attitudes with a variety of models based upon the general survey method. With the exception of the NYC and BAMM studies, success seems to improve with congruence of values between the researchers and the community. That is, most surveys were conducted with middle-class people with middle-class values. In the NYC and BAMM studies, there is some indication that the questions or problems emerged from the "grass roots". But, with all of the sophisticated methodology and expertise, our rate of return and information from disenfranchized citizens is low for survey research.

Conclusion

From all that has been learned from relevant research literature, as well as informal "chats" with researchers, and school personnel, there is no one "good" model for doing research or collecting data from communities about schools. Several models have been tried with some success, dependent upon

the area of study and community. Researchers seemingly have utilized the general survey method approach more or some combination of survey methods. Perhaps there is a need to explore a more ethnographic research approach. But time and physical constraints would tend to make this a prohibited proposition.

Some thought must now be given to the concerns of the questions posed to our communities. Schoolpersons must learn to ask the right questions of the community, questions which are sensitive to the concerns of people from differing value systems.

There is a dearth of literature which addresses the question of data collection and the researcher's approach to educational issues in multicultural, multi-ethnic communities. What is the role of the researcher in multi-ethnic communities with values and concerns that are different from those of the researcher? Can these be handled by the researcher alone, or should (s)he get input from the community, or perhaps employ a minority researcher on a consultant basis? It might be to the researcher's advantage to employ people who are sensitive to the idiosyncracies of the various ethnic groups in order to eliminate the possibility of questions which may inadvertently offend people.

If we are to help facilitate policy decisions, researchers must find methods of collecting data from the community about schools. Many cities are populated more and more with poor and/or minority people who are alienated, distrustful of outsiders, and are reluctant to participate in surveys. The problem of data collection becomes difficult. Therefore, data analysis becomes tricky, and conclusions and inferences drawn become "guess work".

Conway, Jennings & Milstein (1974) suggested three methods for collecting community data: document search, survey research, and the ethnographic or case study approach. Document search, at this point in time, yields little data about community attitudes toward schools. It was posited that the anthnographic approach might yield results where survey methods have failed. But unfortunately, it suffers from the same initial problem as survey research. If community people are "leery" of outsiders, it is quite possible that they will be reluctant to accept a person who wishes to "observe" and record their actions and opinions. Maybe there is not available to us at this time a systematic method for assessing the attitudes of large numbers of urban poor and/or minorities. We might have to place our faith in the future, and hope that new methodologies will appear or that somehow we can make institutions more responsive to the people they serve.

In the final analysis, despite problems, we must continue to survey communities about schools and hope that we are successful in getting their opinions. It is infinitely better to have a feeling for the positions of individuals and groups about policy matters before a course of action is decided upon, than to make decisions and then be confronted with community dissatisfactions (Conway, Jennings & Milstein, 1974). Therefore, if we believe that there is a need for informed policy decisions and community participation in the decision making process, then this decade should witness a growing use of data collection from communities by school districts.

It should be clear that many disciplinary problems that surface in school are home and community related. They may originate from the home and community; and their solutions may also be found by collecting more infor-

mation about these problems from home and community. Therefore, it is strongly recommended that we make greater use of community people to help researchers frame questions for "school-community" related studies; and use community people to help collect the data and assist in the interpreting of research findings. It is important to involve community people in each phase of the research in order to enhance the validity of our research, improve school-community relations, and improve education for children.

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SOME PROMISING PRACTICES FOR ATTAINING SCHOOL DISCIPLINE[1]

William W. Wayson

The Genesis

In 1979 Phi Delta Kappa appointed a Commission on Discipline to study practices in schools that had promise for improving school discipline. Spurred by findings in its own annual Gallup Poll which showed discipline as a major concern for more than a decade, PDK pressed for such a commission to provide information that would be helpful to school and community persons who wanted to do something about the problem. The Commission was to work for one year gathering data and producing two reports. The reports were completed in 1981 and published in February, 1982, under the titles A DIRECTORY OF SCHOOLS REPORTED TO HAVE EXEMPLARY DISCIPLINE (Pinnell, *et al.*, 1982) and HANDBOOK FOR DEVELOPING SCHOOLS WITH GOOD DISCIPLINE (Wayson *et al.*, 1982).

The Commission deliberated for a long time about its procedures, finally compromising its research proclivities to meet the resources it had to account for the practicalities of gathering data on such a topic from harried school personnel. The Commission agreed to work under the following guidelines:

1. Any definition of discipline would bias the returns; so, we would accept whatever respondents felt good discipline was. We would then attempt to discern what definitions had been applied after the returns were in.
2. No random sample was possible (and perhaps was not desirable given the charge to the Commission) because we would be unable to reach the full population and make any random selections with the small funding available.
3. An *a priori* category system would bias the results; so, we would not impose one on the questionnaire. After returns were in, we developed a *post hoc* set of categories for presenting the results.
4. We would use as large a set of categories as necessary for presenting usable, practical guides for action in local schools. We avoided reducing the activities reported by respondents to broad categories even though the number of such activities was much larger than the usual research report would accept.

The Commission created a network of nominators by pooling the mailing lists of all fourteen Commission members and by using the newsletters of the American Association of School Administrators (AASA), National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP), National Association of Elementary School Principals (NAESP), Phi Delta Kappa (PDK), and the

[1]This paper has been prepared by combining a presentation to the American Association of School Administrators (February, 1981) and a paper prepared for the American Educational Research Association annual conference (April, 1981).

Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) to advertise the request. The Network contained more than 1000 names from all fifty states and Canada. Each person was contacted by direct mail and asked to nominate schools that had exemplary discipline and to name a contact person who could report on the school's program. More than 1000 schools were nominated, and each was sent an extensive questionnaire to report the characteristics of the school, the nature of any discipline problems that they had overcome, and the essential features of the program that they felt had helped them to give good discipline.

Responses were received from 506 schools representing elementary, junior high, and senior high schools—both public and private—from all strata of socioeconomic and political jurisdictions. The sample contained at least one school from each state and several from Canada. Some of the schools were visited and telephone calls were made to some persons who knew the schools well enough to judge whether the reports were accurate. Though only a small proportion of the schools were "checked" through these means, those that were examined by second parties indicated that the reports were accurate, and the Commission felt that at least 90 percent of the schools deserved to be called "exemplary" and the activities they reported were related to good discipline.

The activities they reported were categorized into 100 categories, each stated specifically enough that school personnel and community members could use them to adopt a course of action in their school. When we examined what these schools were doing, we found that their efforts seemed designed to improve eight features of school operations. We categorized their activities on the basis of those features and named each of them as goals to be attained by any school that wants to improve school discipline. The remainder of this paper will name each of those goals and give a few specific activities that any school can undertake to improve conditions that precipitate poor behavior among school students.

Goal Attainments

GOAL I: GET PEOPLE IN THE SCHOOL TO WORK TOGETHER TO SOLVE PROBLEMS THAT IMPAIR THE SCHOOL'S EFFECTIVENESS OR REPUTATION.

These good schools solved most of their problems at the building level. Since most of the problems are created at this level, it seems fruitless for central offices to attempt to resolve the problems at a higher level. Much of what happens at policy levels never trickles down to building levels and often prevents anyone from seeing what must be done in local schools. These schools brought their staffs together and had them solving problems in their school. Of course, they expended much effort to get the staff to work together, with emphasis on mutual goals and corporate work.

A few schools in Cleveland, for example, took their faculty members to an Outward-Bound type of camp for a weekend workshop in which the staff had to work together to climb cliffs or go over a fourteen-foot wall instead of having a one-day, one-shot workshop on quick-and-easy ways to hit kids without leaving marks or how to suspend legally. They rappelled down cliffs and slid across creeks on a Tyrolean sling. Those staffs had reported that they

never worked together or even talked together in over fourteen years. Two men had not spoken except to threaten one another. After the experience, the staff expressed greater confidence in themselves and worked together to create common codes of expectations, to reorganize the cafeteria, to clear the halls and to eliminate study halls which had been one of their greatest sources of disruptive behavior. The two men worked together over the year and volunteered at the end of the year to combine their skills in order to organize a corps of students who would greet other students when the next year began. The event is only illustrative of a major effort we discovered among the schools who responded to our survey to assure that the staff worked together and shared common goals and processes.

Some activities through which these schools brought staff together into problem-solving teams were:

Get staff to define goals and purposes.

Have staff make decisions about school policy.

Foster informal staff interaction that makes the school more like a family or community.

Design faculty meetings to be problem-solving sessions. Have staff members plan and run the meetings around topics that would improve some practice in the school.

Have staff members observe one another and other schools at work.

GOAL II: *REDUCE AUTHORITY AND STATUS DIFFERENCES THAT DIVIDE PEOPLE FROM ONE ANOTHER AND HAMPER THEIR PARTICIPATION AND SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY.*

These schools attempted very much to eliminate divisions among either staff or students. They did not look down on their custodial or secretarial staff; rather they included them in their deliberations and expected them to participate fully in the life of the school. Several classified staff members wrote to us about the survey and expressed both pride and ownership in the success of the school. All departments in the schools were respected for what they contributed to the school, and there seemed to be far fewer of the *prima donna* behaviors, jealousies and competition that one might find in many schools.

The schools had staff, students, and parents engaged in decision-making to an astonishing degree. Staff and students often worked together in projects, and they shared recognition equally. Some schools developed a "Bill of Rights" that applied not only to students, or certain students, or to faculty but also to all of the people in the school. One school trained students to deal with fights, and most fights were referred to those students for adjudication. All parents, not just the "good" parents, were welcomed into the school. All staff members, not just a few, were actively recruited into both formal and social activities.

Other activities in which these schools engaged to reduce status and authority differences included:

Stress the goal to teach all students.

Use instructional groupings to bring students together.

Use many extracurricular activities to bring students and staff together.

Design activities and assignments to "cut across" departments, grade levels and other divisions that split staff and students. Recognize and involve classified personnel in many meetings and activities normally reserved for certificated personnel.

GOAL III: *INCREASE AND WIDEN THE STUDENT'S SENSE OF BELONGING IN THE SCHOOL SO AS TO FOSTER PRIDE AND RESPONSIBLE PARTICIPATION.*

Our work with many schools in workshops, classes and conferences reveals that many school personnel do not believe that students can or will or should carry out responsible roles in the school. Indeed, we have had to make a separate point that students are indeed some of the PEOPLE in the school. Few of our audiences ever thought of students when we spoke of the people in their school or of the potential human resources from which they could draw to meet the school's needs. We do not know how many schools truly believe that they would have a great school if there were no students. But we know that many do, and we know that the schools who responded to the Phi Delta Kappa survey do not.

These schools worked hard to reach all students and they accepted no excuses that "some children" cannot be educated. They created instructional groupings that brought students together instead of dividing them from one another. They instituted many ways to success, so more students could be successful. One high school had 58 cheerleading squads for 58 competing groups. Their stress was not on the competition or the winning; it was on giving every student in the school opportunities to participate. An extraordinary number of schools had created an extraordinary number of ways to involve all students.

These 500 schools tended to see their students as responsible people who participate in their school in very responsible ways. A school in a correctional institution reported that students participate in selecting new staff members. Other schools reported that students make decisions about school operations. These ranged from cafeteria management to curriculum revision. Students held important jobs in the school, from greeting visitors and cleaning up to holding disciplinary hearings and running assemblies. Staff members displayed student work throughout the schools, and they visited students' homes as ways of demonstrating high regard. These schools widened extracurricular activities to involve larger numbers of students. They used all sorts of symbols, e.g., jackets, T-shirts, buttons and badges, to build school spirit and to bolster rapport with students. Many schools reported beautification projects which involved staff and students together, in efforts to create better facilities and grounds.

These schools also did the following things to engage students in the life of the school:

Assigned faculty advisors to each student, to give each a personal contact with the school.

Trained staff to interact informally with students.

Created strong homeroom programs.

Brought students and staff together in many informal activities.

GOAL IV. *DEFINE RULES AND DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURES IN WAYS THAT WILL TEACH AND REWARD SELF-DISCIPLINED PARTICIPATION.*

These schools took great pains to see that everybody understood what the rules were and what behavior was wanted. Everyone, staff and students, were TAUGHT how to obey the rules and how to be good citizens in the school. These schools established clear, reasonable and enforceable rules and policies. They provided adequate adult supervision in all areas of the school, but they did not oversupervise. The schools did not look like Gestapo camps where you would see guards every twenty feet or so with their arms folded or waving sticks. You simply would see an adult presence combined with responsible student activity. Responsible student participation was taught by taking the time and using methods to teach, as opposed to merely announcing or introducing, the rules and the appropriate behaviors. Primarily, it seemed, these schools achieved responsible student behavior by involving students in creating the rules and in enforcing them. Their rules seldom were of the "if you do this, we will do that" variety. Rather, they understood that people are different and treatment ought to be different.

The responding schools worked to create a positive learning environment. They did many things to convey positive comments to both staff and students. Some of it seemed corny, like sending letters from the principal which said, "Your child was sent to the office today for doing these good things," with a list of the good the student had done. High schools and junior high schools did those things almost as frequently as elementary schools. Most of the reported programs concentrated upon positives rather than negatives, and, in doing so, fostered positive behavior.

Among the many activities reported for improving the rules and enforcement were:

Have adults and students work together to enforce mutually adopted rules.

Find out what is causing repetitive disruptions and eliminate the causes.

Train staff to use a variety of techniques for preventing problems or for dealing with those that occur.

Help more students experience success.

View the discipline program as encompassing all of the eight goals, rather than rules and rule enforcement in isolation.

GOAL V: *ENHANCE CURRICULAR AND INSTRUCTIONAL PRACTICES TO EMPHASIZE LEARNING AND TO IMPROVE THE IMPACT UPON MORE STUDENTS.*

Personnel in these schools knew they were there for serious business, and they conveyed that to students and staff members in many positive ways. They had mutually-determined goals to achieve. Those goals were clear and widely valued. The schools were not permissive in the "do-what-you-want" sense. Students had homework given for good reasons which everyone understood and it was scored and graded, rather than being assigned to keep students busy or parents happy. Both students and staff felt "We are here to learn; we know what we are going to learn, and we are all going to contribute to one another's learning." Staff, students and parents often came together to define why the school existed.

Curricular and instructional influences on student behavior were improved in the following ways:

Courses and activities were added to enrich the curriculum and to appeal to and reach all students.

Students received willing help when they did not comprehend classroom instruction.

Varieties of instructional techniques were used to reach more students and to appeal to more staff.

Instructional techniques were constantly assessed to determine effectiveness.

GOAL VI: *ASSIST BOTH STAFF AND STUDENTS TO DEAL WITH PERSONAL PROBLEMS THAT AFFECT THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE LIFE OF THE SCHOOL.*

Both students and staff are people who live outside as well as inside the school. They encounter personal problems in all facets of their lives, and those problems often carry over into teaching or learning in ways that produce discipline problems. The schools who responded to us indicated that they recognized the inter-relationship between personal and school problems and did something about them. Both staff and students received both peer and professional counseling. Some schools or systems provided a variety of services from career counseling to treatment for alcoholism or drug abuse. Staff and students were also trained in counseling techniques. Schools were organized to provide close "adviser-advisee" relationships between staff and students. Homerooms were designed to teach students how to deal with common problems. Some schools had programs which paired students with volunteer elderly "grandparents" who were sounding boards for many of the problems students experienced.

Other ways to assure that personal problems were discussed included:

Training staff members to use counseling approaches to their students.

Using community agencies to get counseling services and personnel.

Training staff to deal with their human emotions and prejudices.

GOAL VII: *STRENGTHEN INTERACTION BETWEEN THE SCHOOL AND THE HOMES AND COMMUNITY THE SCHOOL SERVES.*

These schools had seemingly unlimited numbers and types of contacts with parents and with community agencies. The school was taken into the community, and the community was brought into the school. Many students went into the community to perform services. Students and staff went into the community to work with agencies. The curriculum took advantage of the various learning opportunities and internships available in the community. A surprisingly large number of schools, including high schools, reported making frequent and regular home visits to establish close ties with homes and to demonstrate the value placed on students. Such occurrences took place with about equal frequency in central city schools as in suburban and rural areas. Parents and other people were brought into the school to perform many functions—from providing services to decision-making about curriculum, procedures and even staffing.

Linkages with homes and community were strengthened further by:

Involving parents and others in instructional activities.

Training staff to recruit and use volunteers.

Sending regular written communications in newsletters.

Using image-building publicity about school activities.

Having students, staff or parents present programs to civic and other community groups.

GOAL VIII: IMPROVE THE PHYSICAL APPEARANCE AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE SCHOOL TO FOSTER PRIDE AND TO REINFORCE OTHER OBJECTIVES.

The physical structure of schools often works against the development of self-discipline. The building may be cold and forbidding or too institutional in appearance so as to reinforce impersonalness and lack of belonging. Schedules may prevent people from working together or may produce traffic patterns or densities of population that cause discipline problems to occur. Study halls have become too large and are too frequently assigned; consequently, they are breeding grounds for disruptive behavior, poor student-staff relationships, and punitive methods. The schools who wrote to us knew about those negative relationships and did much to make the buildings and the bureaucratic processes educationally productive.

Schedules were used to bring people together. They utilized all available spaces in the school—and sometimes outside—to enhance belongingness and to promote learning. Building and grounds were beautified, or at least made more attractive, and the beautification involved people in ways that made it THEIR building and made them want to maintain it in as good a condition as possible. Students and staff in these schools did more of the building maintenance and took more responsibility for it than may be observed in most schools. For example, one school in New Jersey was located in a tough inner-city area with all of the problems attendant to such areas. The staff worked so hard to get parent involvement that they had 1,147 parents out of a possible 1,180 at their open house. Yet they met the next day to see what could be done to get the other parents in! Some members of the staff had come into the school building one day, looked around, and said, "No decent person would want to come into this building." The staff, some parents, and some students painted the three-story building inside, and out, to make it look better. Of course, they violated rules and laws to accomplish the task, but the building now reflects their contributions and has won their allegiance. There has been no graffiti on the walls for the past three years since painting the place.

Buildings and grounds and organizational devices were used to promote better discipline in other ways. These included:

Mixing grade levels or subject matter teachers in ways that reduce division among them.

Using decorations and displays that reflect and honor students' background.

Using cafeteria committees of students and teachers to make the cafeteria more like a restaurant.

Using schedules to keep traffic light or to bring people together to develop more cohesiveness.

The Summary

The aforementioned are the eight goals that these staffs pursued to create their better-disciplined schools. This study reflects others (such as the "15000 Hours Study" conducted in England) which demonstrate schools can be well-disciplined and highly productive if school personnel want them to be. Those studies and our own experience indicate clearly and irrefutably that any attempt to improve discipline in a school without working in a comprehensive way to reach these eight goals perhaps will yield short-term success but in the long run will fail to produce any results or may even worsen the situation.

Central office personnel are often under pressure to "do something". Often the community will be content with cosmetic efforts. But any person who wants schools to provide the foundation of self-restraint and self-confidence that bolsters a free, self-disciplined society must look to these eight goals and use some of the many activities that were reported in the Phi Delta Kappa study.

Work on these eight goals will help the public schools get four things that they currently need very much. These are better achievement, better discipline, higher staff morale and greater public regard. The four are inseparable. Anything done to improve any one, will improve all.

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Epilogue

More and more, society witnesses a growing public concern over the issue of student discipline in the public schools, as evidenced by recent data available from the Gallup Poll Studies, Children's Defense Fund initiatives and the Office of Civil Rights surveys, to name only a few. In attempting to respond to the plethora of criticism being placed on the schools, the authors have provided a meaningful balance between the academic and pragmatic aspects of this issue.

Clearly, the multifaceted foci for this treatise of student discipline has been an attempt to clarify and raise issues pertinent to school climate in the urban milieu. Bringing together this interesting set of manuscripts allows the authors and readership the opportunity to gain further insight into this multi-dimensional phenomenon.

CONTRIBUTORS' BIOGRAPHIES

Christine Bennett is an associate professor of curriculum and instruction at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. Prior to this, she was on the faculties of the Universities of Texas and Florida at Gainesville. She received her Doctor of Philosophy degree from the University of Texas at Austin, and her research interests include political socialization, classroom climate in desegregated settings, multicultural curriculum and explanation of attrition among Black, Hispanic and White undergraduate students.

Camilla A. Heid is a research and evaluation coordinator within the Center for Urban and Multicultural Education at Indiana University. Prior to this, she was a research assistant with the Center, and a mathematics instructor for the Indianapolis and Wayne Township, Indiana Public School Corporations. Ms. Heid completed her degrees through Purdue and Indiana Universities. Her major research foci address research design and methodology, school climate and student discipline.

Stephen Bower is currently Command Historian for the United States Army Soldier Support Center, Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana. Prior to this, he was a program developer for the Project for the Equitable Administration of Student Discipline (PEASD) at Indiana University. He was awarded the Doctor of Philosophy degree in History and Philosophy of Education in 1980, from Indiana University. Dr. Bower's research interests lie in the philosophical and historical underpinnings of education.

Frank Brown is professor of Educational Administration, Department of Educational Organization, Administration and Policy, at the State University of New York at Buffalo. Dr. Brown has been director of the Cora P. Maloney College at SUNY - Buffalo and received the Doctor of Philosophy degree in 1970, from the University of California at Berkeley in educational administration, finance and economics. Before coming to SUNY at Buffalo, he was on the faculty of the City University of New York (CUNY), and has held various administrative and teaching positions in public school education. Professor Brown's research interests lie in educational finance, law and urban education.

A. Reynaldo Contreras is an assistant professor of School Administration and director of the Bilingual Doctoral Fellowship Program at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. Before coming to Indiana University, Dr. Contreras was on the faculties at California State University and San Diego State University. Professor Contreras received the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Educational Administration from Stanford University. His research thrusts lie in policy studies and bilingual multicultural education, and his works have appeared in a variety of publications.

Meryl E. Englander is a professor of education in the Department of Educational Psychology at Indiana University. At Indiana University he has coordinated the undergraduate Educational Psychology program of teacher education, directed a field experiment in teacher education and taught numerous inservice courses for teachers. He was a five-time President of the Midwest Association of Teachers of Educational Psychology and three-time Chairman of the AERA Special Interest Group: Managing Classroom Behavior. Dr. Englander was graduated from the University of Michigan where he was awarded the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Educational Psychology. His research agenda includes student learning style and motivation, student discipline and student climate. Professor Englander recently published *Strategies for Managing Classroom Behavior: Punishment and Its Alternatives*. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1983.

Richard E. Fields is a practicing school administrator within the Indianapolis Public School Corporation and has been a part-time instructor of school law at Indiana University. Dr. Fields completed the Doctor of Education degree in School Administration from Indiana University. His research interests are reflected by journal articles and book chapters which focus on school law, urban education, and equity issues.

J. John Harris III is an associate professor of Educational Administration, in the department of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, Director of the Center for Urban and Multicultural Education, and Associate Director of the Office of School Programs at Indiana University. Professor Harris has also been an assistant professor at the Pennsylvania State University, and served in a variety of administrative, counseling and teaching positions in the Detroit and Highland Park, Michigan Public Schools. Dr. Harris completed the Master of Science and Doctor of Philosophy degrees in Educational Administration and Psychology from the University of Michigan. Exemplifying his research *forte*, are numerous publications as journal articles, book chapters, monographs, books, reviews, and research reports in the areas of educational law, urban administration policy, and equity.

Patrick D. Lynch is a professor of Educational Policy Studies at the Pennsylvania State University. He has been a department chairman for Educational Administration and directs several research projects in South American nations. Professor Lynch received his Doctor of Philosophy degree from the University of Minnesota, 1960. His primary research interests lie in educational administration, research and policy studies from both national and international perspectives.

Cynthia L. Jackson is the Head of Outreach and Research at the North Carolina School of Science and Mathematics, Durham, North Carolina. Before this, she worked as a coordinator of training and consultant for the Institute for Integrated Education at the Ohio State University. She has also been a teacher in the DeKalb County school district in Decatur, Georgia. Dr. Jackson completed the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Educational Policy at the Ohio State University. Her academic interests are in educational administration, school climate and urban education.

William W. Wayson is a professor of Educational Leadership and Policy Development and former director of the Institute for Effective Integrated Education at the Ohio State University. He was past chairman of the Phi Delta Kappa Commission on Discipline and is now chairing a Commission for Developing Public Confidence in Schools for Phi Delta Kappa. Before coming to Ohio State, he was principal of the Martin Luther King, Jr. School in Syracuse, New York and professor of Educational Administration at Syracuse University. Dr. Wayson completed his doctorate at the University of Chicago. His research *forte* lie in urban educational administration, school climate, staff development and school discipline.

INDEX

absences 131, 135
achievement test scores 39, 51-52
administrators 1, 4, 5, 6, 13, 27, 28, 37, 38, 50, 63, 84, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 111, 119, 120, 123, 125, 131, 135, 136, 137, 138, 183, 186, 187, 189, 199, 200
  Black 136
Affirmative Action 175-176
Alabama State College 19
alcohol, use of 39, 135, 136, 194, 210
Alex v. Allen 24
American Association of School Administrators 205
American Association of University Professors 19
American Federation of Teachers 26
Argyris 190
assault 3, 39, 63, 64, 144
Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development 206
Association of American Colleges 20

Baker v. Owen 4-5, 9
Banfield, Edward C. 171, 179n
Barth, Roland 9-10
behavior modification 1, 146, 154, 155, 157
Bell, Daniel 174
Bell, Derrick 169
Bennett, Christine 40
Bennett, Christine and Harris, J. John 143
Bennett, Clifford 27
Bennis 190
Berger, Peter 164, 179, 180
Bickel, Frank 180
bilingual education 187, 189, 190
Bill of Rights (English) 6
Black history 187
Black History Week 21
Black identity 167, 180n, 187
Black militancy 21
Blacks 165, 168-178, 179n, 180n
Black students 21, 51, 62, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 134, 135, 136, 137, 166, 172, 179, 187
  disproportionate discipline of 37, 39, 40, 41, 49, 52, 53, 63, 77, 105, 137, 138
  expulsion of 49, 131, 138
  standardized test scores of 39, 52
  suspension of 7, 40, 41, 49, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142
  unequal educational opportunities for 110
  withdrawal from school by 75, 77
Bogart, L. 196, 197
broken homes 51, 137
Brown v. the Board of Education 11, 169, 170, 179n, 183
Buffalo Area Metropolitan Ministries 200
Bunzel, John 174
busing 77, 90, 105, 110, 137, 169, 170, 171, 187, 190

Callahan, Raymond E. 180
Carnoy 11
Casey, Phyllis 187-188
Charles, C.M. 157
Chicanos 174
child advocacy 1
Children Out of School 17
Children's Defense Fund 7, 17, 23, 39, 40, 41
civil rights 1, 63, 129, 175, 191
Civil Rights Act 164, 175, 176
Civil Rights Movement 178
Civil Rights, Office for 7
class, social 165, 170, 171, 172, 174, 178, 200
classism 179
Coates, Thomas J. and Thoreson, Carl E. 144
Code of Student Rights and Responsibilities 21
Coffman v. Kuchler 25
Coleman, James S. 143, 170, 178
Coleman Report 170, 172
college, plans for attending 52, 79
Columbus, Ohio, school system 21
communication 157, 158
Congress of Racial Equality 169
Contract Compliance Office 175
Conway, J.A., Jennings, R.E., and Milstein, M.M. 201
Copeland, L. 199
corporal punishment 1, 2, 3-7, 9, 11, 17, 24, 25, 38, 145, 154, 155, 156, 157
Cottle, Thomas J. 18
courts, and school issues 9, 11, 12, 21, 22, 23-28, 39, 164, 169, 170, 171, 183, 184, 185, 186
Crockel, W. 200
Crome, Betty 21
cultural deprivation 167
curriculum 137, 185, 209, 210

Dade County school system 5
Dallam, George 24

Dallam v. Cumberland Valley School District 24
Davis, W. and Nash, N. 198
decommissioning 196
DeFlaminis, John 144, 145
desegregation 51, 60, 62, 63, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 101, 105, 106, 110, 111, 128, 129, 131, 137, 143, 163, 164, 169, 170, 171, 172, 177, 180, 184, 187, 189, 190
detention 38, 39
Dewey, John 2, 3
Dillin, S. Hugh 179
discipline 1-12, 13, 17, 19-25, 37-40, 42, 44, 45, 51, 55, 63, 64, 75, 77, 87, 106, 110, 111, 131, 136, 137, 144, 163, 178, 195, 205, 206, 211, 212
and achievement test scores 51-52
and feelings of unworthiness 23, 143
and special education students 9, 10, 25, 26, 51, 136, 137
disproportionality in 37-45, 49, 163-181
impact on achievement 143
impact on employment opportunities 18, 22, 138
problems of 1, 137, 210, 211
Education Amendments 163
education, right to 22
Education of All Handicapped Children Act 25
educational policy 186-191
Eighth Amendment 4-7, 24
Emergency School Aid Act 131, 163, 164
Englander, Meryl E. 144, 154, 157
enrollment, decline of 196
Epperson v. Arkansas 23
equal educational opportunity 138
Equal Employment Opportunity Act 175
equal opportunity 166, 174
Equal Protection Clause 179n
ethnicity 165, 166, 167, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178n, 179n, 183, 184, 196, 198, 200, 201
Everett v. Marcase 24-25
expulsion 1, 8, 9, 19, 21, 22, 25, 38, 39, 40, 49, 50, 56, 62, 75, 105, 106, 108, 109, 110, 111, 131, 138, 163, 186
and special education students 9, 25, 26
extra-curricular activities 136, 207, 208

family structure 51, 52, 78, 105, 177, 189
fatalism 56-58, 64, 65, 79, 90, 137
federal government and education 131, 174, 176-177, 183-184, 186-187, 188, 191
Fein, E. 197
females 62
female students 83, 84, 85, 107, 115
and suspension 7-8
as disrupters 52
Ferraro, Richard 3
Fiedler, Bobbo 3
fighting in school 18, 21, 51, 52, 136, 144, 195, 207
First Amendment 12
Foley, Wayne 4
Fourteenth Amendment 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 18-19, 21, 22, 179n
Froebel, Friedrich 2
Fuller, Frances 144

Gallup Opinion Polls 144, 195-196, 205
Geneva, William 44
GINI Index of Dissimilarity 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 140
Ginott, Haim 158
Glasser, William 157
Glazer, Nathan 170, 175, 179n
Gluckman, Ivan 26
Gordon, Thomas 158
Goss v. Lopez 5, 8-9, 17, 21-22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 39
Gottesfield, H. 199
grades 26
gradepoint systems 11, 26
Graham v. Board of Education of Idabel School District No. Five 24
Greeley, Andrew 165
Green, Edith 175
Groves, R.M. 198

Hall v. Tawney 6-7
handicapped 187
students 9, 17, 25, 26, 189, 190
Harris, J. John III 40
Havelock 190
hidden curriculum 1, 111
Hispanic students 40, 174
Hobbs, W.C. 196
House, Ernest 188

Ianni, Francis 9, 38
Indian students 184
Indiana, survey of suspension in 27, 137-138
Indiana General Assembly 179n

Indiana State Department of Public Instruction 137
Individual Education Program 189
informed consent, theory of 5
Ingraham v. Wright 5-6, 7, 8, 9, 24
inner city 166, 167, 170, 211
integration 64, 86, 105, 131, 172, 184
interracial mixing 60, 61, 62, 72, 73, 82-83, 84, 87, 95-100, 138

Jackson, Jesse 180
Jews 174
Joint Statement on Rights and Freedoms of Students 19-21
Jordan v. School District of Erie, Pennsylvania 25

Kelly, James A. 37
Kilpatrick 3
Kounin, Jacob 157
Kozol, C. 199
Krickus, Richard 165

Laing, R.W. 180
language 184, 185
Lasch, Christopher 180
Lau v. Nichols 184
Lichenstein, Edward 10
Lopez, Dwight 21
MacFeely, Richard W. 26
mainstreaming 189, 190
malpractice liability 189
male students 1, 63, 75, 83, 84, 85, 86, 107, 108, 109, 110, 116
  disproportionality in discipline of 49, 52, 55, 62, 105
  expulsion of 49
  suspension of 7, 49
  withdrawal from school by 77
Mann, Horace 17
Martin, Barbara 10
McDaniel, Thomas 10
McGhehey, M.A. 26
Metropolitan Human Relations Commission 41
minorities 164, 165, 173, 174, 175, 179n, 195, 197, 199, 201
minority students 1, 7, 37, 38, 39, 40, 106, 109, 110, 166, 172, 178
  disproportionate suspension of 40, 44, 105, 131, 134, 135, 163, 184
Mouly, G.J. 197

National Association of Elementary School Principals 205
National Association of Secondary School Principals 26, 205
National Association of Student Personnel Administration 20
National Association of Women Deans and Counselors 20
National Defense Education Act 183
National Education Association 4, 26
  Task Force on Student Involvement 21
national examinations 185
National Organization on Legal Problems in Education 26
New York City, study of schools in 199
non-enrollment 17

Office of Education 38, 164

paddling 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 24, 154, 155n, 156, 157
parents 4, 18, 25, 27, 37, 38, 42, 44, 50, 51, 52, 59, 63, 80, 81, 106, 108, 109, 110, 131, 135, 136, 137, 138, 175, 177, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 195, 193, 207, 210, 211
  and discipline of children 4, 5, 6-7, 37, 38, 42, 144, 154, 155
parent-teacher associations 3, 137, 196
Parten, M. 197, 198
participative management of schools 191
Pearson correlation coefficient 133
Pestalozzi, John 2
Phi Delta Kappa 205, 208, 212
  Annual Gallup Poll 144
  Commission on Discipline 205
Philadelphia School District 25
poverty 8, 18, 43, 111, 138, 143, 165, 166, 167, 168, 171, 173, 178, 179n, 183, 187, 197, 198, 199, 201
Powell, Supreme Court Justice 22
prevention theory 43-44
principals 5, 39, 57, 59, 62, 79, 80, 81, 108, 137, 138, 152, 157, 199, 209
  and *Goss v. Lopez* 27, 28
  Black 86
privacy regulations 50
private schools 165
problem students 147, 155, 156, 158
Project for Equitable Administration of Student Discipline 163
Project for Equity in Discipline 163
Public Law 94-142 9, 25, 26, 189
Public Law 162 27
punishment 58, 67, 68, 86, 87, 91, 92, 137, 138, 143, 146, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158

quotas 174-176

race 75, 136, 175, 176, 178, 179n, 180n, 188
  relations 60-63, 82-86, 167, 172
racial balance 163, 164, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 187
racial conflicts 136, 138, 148, 178
racial separation 171, 172, 178n
racism 61, 62, 85, 86, 110, 111, 129, 166, 167, 169, 170, 172, 173, 174, 178, 180
Reagan, Ronald 174
Rehabilitation Act 25
  Section 504 of 25, 26
religious confrontation 189
research, educational 49, 62, 105, 106, 131, 195-202, 205
Rieth, Herbert [illegible]
Riggins 11
rules, school 20, 209
Rustin, Bayard 178

S-1 v. Turlington 25-26
Sakatoon 199
San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez 179n
school boards 59, 62, 80, 81, 138, 187, 200
Schwartz, D.A. 198
segregation 164, 165, 168, 170, 179n, 184, 187
self-control 12, 38
self-discipline 3, 209
self-esteem 23
sex 7, 75, 175, 176, 178, 180, 195
sexual acts 25
Shanley v. Northeast Independent School District, Bexar County, Texas 8
Shankar, Albert 26
Shannon v. HUD 171
single parent homes 51, 137
Skelly-Wright 175
slums 171
smoking 21, 135, 195
social conformity 11-12
socio-economic status 197
South Carolina Human Affairs Commission 41
special education students 9, 10, 25, 26, 51, 136, 137
Special Student Concern Projects 39, 131, 134, 137, 163
Spring, Joel 180
State Department 50, 75
standardized tests 189
stealing 135, 195
stereotypes 166-168, 173
St. John, Nancy 172
Stuart v. Nappi 9, 25, 26
students' rights 185, 191, 207
suburban schools 168
superintendents 59, 62, 63, 80, 81, 108, 138
"Survey of Short Suspension Procedures Prior to Goss" 27
suspension 1, 2, 3, 7-11, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 38, 39, 40, 41, 50, 51, 52, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 75, 81, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 132, 134, 143, 180n
  discrimination in use of 17, 37-44, 49
  disproportionality in 7-8, 37-45, 180n
  of Blacks 18, 39, 40, 41, 44, 49, 131, 132, 134, 138, 180n
  of females 8
  of males 7, 62
  of minorities 18, 28, 39, 40, 44, 135, 163, 180n
  of the poor 8, 18
  of special education students 9
  of whites 18, 40, 41, 42, 45, 180n
Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg County Board of Education 168-169
swearing 21, 135
Sweat v. Childs 23-24

tardiness 145, 195
Taylor and Helman 196, 199
teachers 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 11, 13, 23, 24, 26, 44, 50, 59, 63, 81, 105, 106, 107, 118, 121, 122, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 135, 136, 137, 138, 144, 145, 146, 147, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 199, 200, 206, 207, 211
  and corporal punishment 4, 6, 154, 155, 156, 157
  assaulted by students 3, 39, 63, 64
  Black 136, 175
  racism and 110-111
  white 166, 175
Thomas, J.D. 157
Title VII 163, 174, 180
truancy 42, 51, 136, 195

unemployment 165-166, 171, 177, 179n
United States Congress 165, 184, 191
United States Constitution 6, 8, 17, 19, 22, 169
United States Court of Appeals 5, 6, 19

United States Department of Education 131
United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare 38, 163, 164, 174
United States National Student Association 19-20
United States Supreme Court 4, 5, 6, 8, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 39, 164, 168, 169, 179n, 184
universal education 185
urban experience 177, 178, 179, 198
urban poor 178, 198, 199
urban schools 168

vandalism 7, 18, 39, 43, 51, 135, 136
Venezuela, school law code of 184
violence 41, 42, 43, 51, 52, 173
  in schools 7, 37, 39, 144
vocational-technical courses 136, 137
War on Poverty 166
"white backlash" 168
whites 143, 165, 168, 170, 171, 173, 174, 179, 180, 181
white predominance 61, 82, 73, 84-85, 86, 87, 101, 102, 103
white students 39, 50, 83, 84, 95, 96, 107, 110, 111, 113, 132, 135, 136, 137, 166, 170, 172, 187
  achievement test scores of 52
  suspension of 7, 40, 41, 132, 133, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 180
Wiley, D.E. 143
Wilson, John 4
withdrawal from school 56, 75, 76, 86, 89, 137
  among Blacks 75, 77
  among males 77
Wolfgang, Charles and Glickman, Carl 157

Yudof, Mark G. 39